Ginger and Salt

WOMEN IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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Ginger and Salt

Yemeni Jewish Women in an Israeli Town

Lisa Gilad

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For my grandmother
Sarah Zychick

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Lisa Gilad

Author's Note

Gadot and Asher, the two towns mentioned in *Ginger and Salt,* are pseudonyms. All names of persons in the study are also pseudonyms and certain details have been changed in order to protect people's privacy.

The first time a Hebrew or Arabic word is used, it is italicized; in subsequent appearances it is not. All Hebrew and Arabic words appear in the Glossary.

Throughout the book I have kept the text largely ethnographic and analytical. Readers wishing to understand more about my analyses or to receive more information, particularly of a cross-cultural nature, are advised to read the notes as they go along. Readers wishing to read primarily for ethnographic content, can skip the notes until the end of the chapter.

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1

Introducing Ginger and Salt

It was a quiet autumn morning in Gadot, Israel; everyone was at work or at school. I was at my typewriter, trying to remember some of the events of the previous evening. Suddenly, through my open windows I heard a woman's sobs. I ran out to the square to see what the problem was. There was Adina—a Yemeni Jewish woman, forty-nine years old, mother of ten children—sobbing. She was moving from side to side, extending her arms to the sky as if asking God to help her. Since we knew each other well, I asked what troubled her so; she replied that it was too awful to speak about. I insisted that she come to my flat for a cup of coffee, and finally, after an hour of tears, she poured out her heart. The night before her husband had defiled her; instead of waiting until fifteen days after the onset of menses and her immersion in the *mikveh* (ritual bath) as required by religious law, her husband forcibly had sexual intercourse with her. She could not understand his behavior because he had not done so in thirty years of marriage. More important, and this was the reason for her tears, she feared that the evil eye would destroy her whole family because they did not adhere to the family purity rituals (*taharat hamishpahah*).

I asked Adina if she knew that in Yemen, Jewish women had a cure for this type of pollution: her reply was negative. Without hesitation I suggested that she seek the advice of a Yemeni healer who had told me the cure consists of a ginger and salt paste which is spread on the vagina. After reciting several blessings, the defiled woman would then be purified. Adina left immediately to learn the appropriate blessings used during the purification ritual. The next day she rewarded me with a dozen roses, thanking me profusely for having saved her family. She wanted to know how I knew about the ritual; I replied that learning such things was part of my research.

The point of this story is not simply that when working in immigrant societies, the anthropologist often ends up filling in aspects of "lost" culture, but that women with whom I spent a lot of time continue to

practice ancient rituals from their Yemeni Jewish heritage, even when they no longer have the knowledge to cope with calamities in the new context of Israeli society. This episode in Adina's life took place thirty-two years after she immigrated to Israel. If she had still been in Yemen, undoubtedly she would have known the cure. It is also possible that if she had lived in an ethnically segregated Yemeni community in Israel, other women could have informed her of the cure. Gadot, an Israeli immigrant settlement and the setting for this study, was far from homogeneous; Yemenis were dispersed among Jews who had emigrated from seventy other countries. I chose Gadot precisely because of its cultural diversity, allowing a unique opportunity to study Israeli values of "integration" and to see how one particular ***eidah*** (ethnic community), the Yemeni Jews, interacted with others from all around the globe.[1] I wanted to understand why being "Yemeni" was still an important identity to people thirty-two years after the group immigrated to Israel and to learn what it meant to their children.

The title of this book was chosen for the symbolic significance of those ingredients used in the purification ritual undergone by Adina: ginger, a spice used daily in Yemen for both flavour and healing, and salt, the mineral evoking the bitterness and troubles of the Jewish people. Ginger and salt, then, bring together two of the socially important identities and cultures of the Yemeni Jews in Israel. While I studied Yemeni Jews of all ages, the people in this book are two generations of women.[2] One generation is the women who immigrated from Yemen shortly after the creation of the state of Israel; the other is their daughters, who were born in Israel. ***Ginger and Salt*** is about starting afresh in an "old-new" country, about radical changes in the self-images and actions of the immigrant generation, and particularly interesting, the "invention" for the younger generation of a period of life as ***unmarried women.***

Both generations of women experience conflicting imperatives placed upon them and created by them in Israeli society. The immigrant generation believes in the traditionally Yemeni Jewish model of women solely committed to managing their households. Yet in Israel mothers find they must work in paid employment in order to provide their children with a good education and to "supplement" their husbands' low incomes. Outside work, in turn, is often seen to interfere with good mothering because it takes away from the time a mother spends with her children and affects her ability to manage her household efficiently. At the same time, women's experiences in paid employment are seen to threaten and re-arrange the family authority structure. Nevertheless, work outside the home and involvement in a wide variety of extra-domestic activities has enabled immigrant women to gain more authority in the home, to gain more independence from the family unit, even to engage in politics. In

sum, they achieve an understanding that their lives as women in Israel are considerably "liberated" from what they now view as enslaving constraints on Jewish women's lives in Yemen.

Daughters, by contrast, do not suffer from the problems—for example, illiteracy or confronting a Western medical system—their mothers faced upon arrival to Israel. They find themselves filling a social status previously unknown to Jewish women in Yemen: unmarried adulthood. In Yemen, a girl went from child to bride to become a complete "woman" only upon the birth of her children. In Israel, as in the West in general, childhood is followed by prolonged "adolescence." The majority of these women spend two years in the army, several years in university, and finally, years in the work force and often travel abroad. Thus they postpone marriage, in many cases, until their late twenties, having passed through at least ten years during which their parents wished for nothing more than the successful marriages of their daughters—even though they are pleased that their daughters achieve university degrees. The conflicting imperatives of unmarried women's lives revolve around their desire to experience the world around them and meeting the expectations of their "primitive" (a word learned in Israel) and religious parents demanding early marriage. This pocket of time—unmarried adulthood—is without precedence in traditional Yemeni Jewish culture. Nor do they really have a welcome place in the wider Israeli society, once they reach their mid-twenties, because by this age Israeli women—even the secular—are expected to marry, "to be fruitful and multiply."

What is striking is how the two generations constantly seek to accommodate the conflicting imperatives that invade their lives. Particularly notable is how some of the immigrant generation continue to believe in the practices of the past while accepting the social realities of the present. In fact, at the level of belief unmarried women are faced with making considerable changes in notions of honour and shame. Here there is the contrast between the imperative of pre-marital chastity in Yemeni Jewish society and the practice of pre-marital sex in secular Israeli society. Not surprisingly, such differences and contradictions, especially between the two generations, are often at the root of bitter and inflamed arguments, particularly in those cases where unmarried women continue to live in their parents' homes. This book, then, looks at the creation of new cultural patterns in the family, and in society, according to the perceptions of the women themselves.

Choosing the Field

There were personal and intellectual reasons why I chose Gadot for a research site, and I should also explain my interest in the Yemeni Jews.

Before I began field work in April 1980, I had already lived in Israel intermittently for three years, dividing my time between a ***kibbutz*** in Southern Galilee and university studies. I met several women soldiers who were working on the kibbutz as part of their service in the agricultural core of the army. I became close friends with two sisters who are daughters of Yemeni immigrants and who grew up in Gadot. I used to visit them in their parents' home when they were there on leave and it was through this family that I became interested in mother-daughter relationships among the Yemenis. After some months of visiting, I was invited to spend Passover with their uncle's family; the Passover service among this large extended family (some forty persons) was very different from that which I knew growing up in an American Jewish home. Though the story of the exodus from Egypt was the same, the rituals and melodies accompanying the story were very different. I felt out of place, and I wanted to know why. How was it that these Yemeni Jews were so different—what was their history, and why was the "old country" still a part of the new?

In the summer of 1978, after my third year of university in Israel, I left with one of the sisters for the United States. She had finished her army service and wanted to travel; I arranged for her to be a guest in my parents' home in Cleveland, Ohio, for a year. I did not know at the time that her stay with my parents would later help me as a field worker. At that time I had no clear research plans. But one reason why I eventually decided on Gadot was because her family and their friends wanted to reciprocate: my parents had given her a home for a year, they wanted to give me one. I had heard that Yemenis were quick to distrust outsiders, so it seemed obvious that if I wanted to study Yemenis, I should go to Gadot where I would be welcome. This indeed was the case; from the moment I arrived in Gadot I was able to begin field work.[3]

I was also attracted to Gadot for reasons which were intertwined with my understanding of Israeli society at that time. During my first summer in Israel as a sixteen year-old tourist, I had the opportunity to live for one week with a Kurdistani Jewish family on a ***moshav*** (co-operative farm). I never knew that there were Jews from Kurdistan (where was Kurdistan anyway? Certainly not anywhere on my Jewish map). I also never knew that there were Jews in Israel who lived in poverty. The moshav was located in an area which was difficult to farm because of its extremely hot climate and bad soil; nonetheless, the families who lived there made the best of a bad situation.[4] I stayed with a family of fifteen (a mother, father and thirteen children) who lived in a small dwelling consisting of three and a half rooms. Needless to say, coming from my middle-class background, I was shocked by these cramped quarters. Although I could not speak Hebrew at the time and could not

get used to the crowded conditions, this experience did lead me to become interested in Jews who were very different from those I knew growing up in Ohio. I spent the next six years learning all that I could about Middle Eastern and North African Jews.

The books which I had read as an undergraduate, almost all written by sociologists and anthropologists, tended to give me an unbalanced view of Israel. Most researchers had been funded by various development agencies who contracted research largely concerned with why certain new settlements or particular *eidot* (ethnic communities) faced difficulties in Israeli society. As a result, these studies focused on social problems, whether in moshavim or development towns, in criminal activities, or as expressed by protest groups (such as the Black Panthers).[5] The relationship of social class and country-of-origin in Israel became readily apparent: immigrants from Europe and America (*Ashkenazim*) and their children invariably had more years of education, better paying jobs, more political representatives, and lived in more prestigious areas than did the immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East.[6] Certainly there were studies explaining the relationship between ethnic origin and class status and underdevelopment in Israel, but I felt the balance needed some correcting. It eventually became clear to me that the "normal" side of Israel was not represented in such studies and I do not mean only the *Ashkenazi* middle class, but also Eastern immigrants who had done well for themselves. Like several others, then, I decided to study a place in Israel which was neither unsuccessful nor of an entirely Middle Eastern Jewish population.[7]

Beginning with my first visit to Gadot in the spring of 1978 I became curious about the town. On the basis of my social science reading, I pictured almost all new towns in Israel as ridden with problems of ethnic strife, political immaturity, unemployment, and so on. But other than a dilapidated, run-down central market, Gadot was clearly thriving and I learned very quickly that it had virtually no unemployment or unoccupied youth, or out-migration. Contrary to many other new towns in Israel, young couples from Gadot remained there, the school system was good, most of the houses were in excellent condition, and it had a vibrant political life. Also, its population was at least 30 percent Ashkenazi. Why was the town different, why had Gadot discovered a successful development path without the utilization of, even more surprisingly, a selective absorption policy like other new towns?[8] I also felt that to work in a place such as Gadot, I would be able to learn about issues that were not central to the prevailing sociological concerns in Israel. For me, Gadot seemed like an ideal place to do research, and so it proved.

While I learned a great deal about council politics, urban development, and the educational system in Gadot, most of my time I spent with

Yemeni Jewish women. I was able to speak with and observe men in the household or the synagogue, but it would have been inappropriate for me as an unmarried woman to try to become close with married men of the immigrant generation, largely because of the concern over the possibility of illicit affairs and religiously-inspired taboos. In fact, it took me about eight months to get up the nerve to greet men at the all-male tables found at celebrations where they debated religious questions, told stories, and drank brandy.

Nor, clearly, could I study people from seventy different ethnic groups in Gadot. For one thing their identity as "Israelis" was not really of interest to them or to me—not in the local context, that is. I was not interested in immigrants from Hungary, Germany or Russia because they were too familiar to me; like most anthropologists I wanted to study "the other." Nor did I want to study Moroccans or Tunisians because they were already the subjects of extensive social research; I was interested in the large Turkish population, but husbands would not let me get close to their wives who would always be shooed out to the kitchen when I came to visit. I chose the Yemenis because, as I said above, I knew several families who would help me get started with research—"connections" are important in any complex society. More importantly, perhaps, in Israeli society Yemenis represented an Oriental (*Mizrahi*) ethnic community that maintained a prestigious ethnic profile. I wanted to know why they differed from the other immigrants from the East, or at least why Israelis in general held such a (relatively) high opinion of Yemenis. And, although Yemeni Jews were the subject of previous anthropological studies, no one had worked with Yemenis who did not think of themselves as a cohesive ethnic community.[9]

Women and the Immigrant Experience

There are features of Yemeni Jewish society which are somewhat unique, both in the Yemen and as immigrants. In the Yemen, Jews lived as an encapsulated minority in an isolated Muslim environment, but Jewish women shared similar life conditions and self-images with Muslim women.[10] As immigrants, the transplanted community of Yemeni Jews find themselves in a Jewish society, in which they could make immediate claims as Zionists and as Jews. This differentiates them (along with other Jewish immigrants to Israel) from immigrants to other countries where a sense of belonging is more difficult to achieve, and even once achieved has different implications. Nonetheless, Yemeni Jews, men and women alike, are involved in the continual emotional and social adjustments felt by immigrants everywhere. Here I briefly discuss several important issues

found in the study of immigrant women's lives generally and which have specific relevance to Yemeni Jewish women.

The sociological study of women and migration is a recent phenomenon even though that of immigrant (ethnic) cultures is not—in such studies (conducted largely by men) women feature in discussions of the family. The new focus on women as immigrants (people who leave their home countries permanently) and as migrants (those who leave their homes usually for economic reasons but intend to return) is probably due to three factors: (1) the opening up of Western societies as legitimate places of anthropological enquiry; immigrants are a target for research because they are so obviously of the anthropological "other"; (2) the constraints of the job market whereby trained anthropologists are hired by governments or private foundations to conduct "applied" projects in respect to the work, health, and educational needs of immigrant women; and (3) the concerns of feminist debate in which immigrant women are seen to be "oppressed" on several levels—sex, work, and minority status. Aside from these reasons, there is also personal involvement together with the need to break stereotypical images through the medium of scholarly discourse: several writers about immigrant women belong to the cultures in which they conducted research.[11]

In earlier studies, "women" were usually seen as "dependents" upon men; these studies also tended to be pre-occupied with each immigrant group's ability to amalgamate, assimilate, acculturate, and integrate into their host societies.[12] Any study of immigrant people—including this one—can draw benefit from insights thrown up by such concepts, but, on the whole, the subtleties and nuances of life in a new society escape them. I avoid the use of such language in ***Ginger and Salt*** in the interests of a more intimate portrait of the immigrant experience.

Feminist studies have undoubtedly contributed the most to our understanding of the life conditions of immigrant women. Some of that work has focused on the broad structural implications of the exploitation of immigrant women in the labour market and their hidden contribution to the development and maintenance of industrial capitalism.[13] On the micro level, most of the anthropological research on immigrant women has dealt with the effects of migration on sex roles, gender relations, family patterns and women's status. While the major focus is often expressed as the "effects of migration," it is not the physical move itself, from one country to another, that is of interest. Rather, the significant questions pertain to the effects of a woman's entry into wage labour—or into wage labour that brings in a greater economic contribution than that known in the old country—on her authority in the family, on the necessity for her husband to help in the home, on her own self-image and so on. For many immigrant women—even if, objectively, they work

harder in and out of the home—bringing in an income, and controlling its use, is liberating. However, some feminist writers maintain that the severe exploitation of women's labour is even more oppressive than was the case in the old country. To some extent, this is because it appears, to the external eye, that immigrant women's wage labour is an extension of the duties of wife and mother, and not an intrinsic value.[14] Moreover, in cases where women do not work in paid employment, migration might further isolate them from the outside world and women themselves might very well become the guardians of the traditions and values of the old country, whether they like it or not.[15]

It would be unwise to argue with the fact that immigrant women are, in many cases, exploited in the labour market because they are forced to take low-paying and low status jobs. This is particularly likely where the women face language and educational barriers, but we have to take note that this exploitation does not necessarily mirror their domestic relations. Women themselves may view their new situation in a different light: they often believe they are better off, financially and socially, than they were in their countries-of-origin. At the same time, account must be taken of the position of men in the labour market, and their immigrant experience as it relates to conjugal and parental relations. Much of Chapter 4 pertains to the social and economic repercussions of immigration on both women and men, separately and together. We will see that many Yemeni Jewish women have benefited more from immigration than men.

Immigrant peoples display an enormous variety of responses to living in a new society. The crude facts of women's labour force participation and position are the least problematic to document and to compare across different cultures. By contrast, the daily habits, family relationships, sentiments and frustrations experienced by immigrants take considerable time and sensitivity for the outside observer to comprehend. *Ginger and Salt* is concerned with Yemeni Jewish women of the immigrant generation and their Israeli-born daughters, but we can readily see their troubles and joys in accounts of immigrant family lives elsewhere in the world.[16] However, caution should be exercised before generalizing about immigrant women as a group. At all events, no study of immigrant lives is complete without an appreciation of the cultural contexts from which they have come; of the journey to the new society, its immigration policies, the type of place in which they settle, the constraints of the local labour market; and of the racial and cultural attitudes they confront. These and other factors together shape the process of becoming a member of the host society: a process that may be complete in months if one is (say) a white English-speaking immigrant to another English-speaking country

of the West; but more likely it takes years. Later in *Ginger and Salt* I address the question of when one ceases to be an immigrant.

Questions and Issues

Ginger and Salt begins in Yemen where we learn about the social and political environment in which Jews had lived for 2,000 years prior to their immigration to Israel. This cultural and historical overview provides the wider context in which to understand Yemeni Jewish women of both generations in Israel. I then describe the physical movement of 55,000 people, straight out of a medieval technology in Yemen, who were guided into Skyhawk airplanes and transported to Israel. This is a notable migration in that with the airlift, an entire people was transplanted from its home of exile to its home of redemption. We then come to Gadot and to its Yemeni Jewish population, but we also locate Yemenis in the complex mosaic of ethnic groups and images in Israeli society. In Chapter 2, we begin to find answers to the question of why Yemeni identity is still important to the immigrant generation and why it is potentially important to their children even though over thirty years have passed since they immigrated to Israel. Remaining Yemeni has enormous implications for the family and community life of the immigrant generation.

"Time" has various dimensions in anthropological usage. In the study of immigrants it is particularly important to learn how people remember their past and incorporate it into their present understandings and how they use their past in conceptualizing their future.[17] The past-present-future orientation is also integral to the study of relationships between generations. After the introduction to Yemen's Jews in Chapter 2, the immigrant generation's memories and accounts of the past in Yemen are referred to throughout *Ginger and Salt.* This is not simply further to inform or remind the reader of the many contrasts between life in Yemen and in Israel; rather this constant recall belongs to the daily conversations and psychology of Yemeni Jews in Israel. Not all immigrant people draw upon their recollections of a glorious—or a not so glorious—past in the old country. That Yemenis in Gadot do, reflects upon who they are in Israeli society. I shall clarify this in the course of the book.

Inevitably, this study of immigrants and their children raises a range of questions concerning perceptions and meanings. Each chapter is associated with specific issues, although there is some overlap. They include:

1. Under what circumstances do people use old rituals, beliefs, and models in new contexts?
   - Is it dangerous to do so?

- Is it inappropriate to do so?
- Is it necessary?

2. What makes for the ability to accommodate conflicting imperatives—those dictated by the past and those that belong to the present?
   - How is it that some people do so successfully while in the case of others there is a great deal of confusion?
   - Does the maintenance of an intact belief system aid or hinder the process of (a long-term) social and psychological adjustment?
3. Are these conceptual and practical challenges to personal integrity and self-images experienced differently by women and men?
   - If so, how are different responses within a family handled?
   - How does a spouse's place in public life affect the conjugal relationship?
4. How do ideas associated with being female change?
5. Do children born in Israel, whose lives are situated in its realities, complete the process of their parents' immigration?
6. But how does the immigrant (parental) generation perceive the lives of their children, for which there is no cultural precedent in the Yemeni Jewish past?
   - How do parents' places in public life affect relationships with their children?

Notes

1. On inter-ethnic relations among Jewish groups in Israel see: Y. Amir 1973; Avineri 1973; P. Cohen 1967, 1968; Curtis and Chertoff 1973; Eisenstadt 1954, 1967; Friendly 1972; Klaff 1973, 1977; Krausz 1972; Lipset 1973; Mars 1980; Peres 1971; Peres and Schrift 1978; Rejwan 1968; Smooha 1978; Smooha and Peres 1975; Toledano 1973; Weingrod 1975; Weller 1974; and Willner 1979.

2. See the section "Doing Field Work" in Chapter 3 for how the research sets were created.

3. I believe that if I had gone to another Yemeni community, I could have successfully conducted field work, but it might have taken several more months to gain entry and to establish rapport and trust.

4. On moshavim in Israel see: Baldwin 1972; Deshen 1966; Deshen and Shokeid 1974; Goldberg 1972; Mars 1980; Shapiro 1971; Shokeid 1971; Weingrod 1962, 1966, 1971; and Weintraub 1971.

5. On development towns in Israel see: Aronoff 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1974a, 1974b; Berler 1970; Berler and Shaked 1966; E. Cohen 1970; Comay and Kirschenbaum 1973; Deshen 1965, 1970, 1974; E. Marx 1976; Matras 1973; Spiegel 1968; and Spilerman and Habib 1974.

On crime and drug abuse in Israel see: Amir 1973; Miller 1971; Shoham 1970a, 1970b, 1973a and 1973b.

On Jewish protest groups in Israel see: Bernstein 1976; E. Cohen 1972; Elon 1973; Rejwan 1971; and Shama and Iris 1977.

6. The reasons for the class differences within Israeli society are rather complicated and I touch on them briefly in Chapter 3.

7. Cf. Aronoff; and Mars.

8. For example, the towns of Arad, Carmiel and Kiryat Gat maintained selective absorption policies.

9. Studies published in English on Yemeni Jews in Israel include: Ben-Rafael 1982; Berdichevsky 1980; Caspi 1985; P. Cohen 1961; Jiggets 1957; Katzir 1976; H. Lewis 1980, 1982, 1985; and Palgi 1975, 1978, and 1983.

10. On Jewish life in Yemen, refer to Chapter 2.

11. For example, Bhachu 1985; Kramer and Masur 1976; and Wilson 1978.

12. For example, see the studies in Mindel and Habenstein 1976, and for a theoretically influential study Eisenstadt 1954.

13. Boyd 1986; Gannage 1985; Kudat 1982; Lamphere 1986a, 1986b; Morokvasic 1984; Safa 1984; Simon and Delay 1984.

14. Boone 1980; Foner 1986; Gilad and Meintel 1985; and Pessar 1984.

15. Andezian 1985; Andezian and Streiff 1982; Baum *et al.* 1981; Saifullah-Khan 1976.

16. In particular, I am thinking of similarities in experience and perception of Boone's (1980) study of Cuban women in the U.S.; Saifullah-Khan's (1977) description of inter-generational conflict among Pakistanis in Britain; Ballard and Ballard (1977) on second generations Sikhs in Britain; Elkholy (1976) on Arab families in the U.S.; Fitzpatrick (1976) on Puerto Rican women in the U.S.; and Haddad (1981) on Syrian women in Chicago.

17. I am indebted to Meyer Fortes for pointing out this time dimension before I went to the field.

The journey to Israel was not an easy one; it is said that nearly one-third of the emigrants died *en route* and many suffered from trachoma, malnutrition and other diseases. There were hospitals in the Adeni camps and in the ma'abarot in Israel once they arrived, so many were saved from early death. The first Yemenis in Gadot had lived in ma'abarot; in fact, they were recruited by a group of Gadot's first settlers who had gone to the camps to choose suitable residents for the new town. From then on, other Yemenis from neighbouring moshavim and from areas as far away as Jerusalem and Tiberias were attracted to Gadot because of their Yemeni brethren.

Notes

1. On qat see Kennedy *et al.* 1980 and Weir 1985.

2. For ethnographic and historical sources on Yemen see: Ahroni 1986; Brauer 1934; Dorsky 1986; Gerholm 1977; Makhlouf 1979; Mundy 1979, 1981; Schmidt 1968; Scott 1942; Stevenson 1985; and Weir 1985.

3. Ratzhabi 1978:209.

4. To my knowledge, the only reason such rabbis were buried in the Holy Land is so that their souls would ascend quickly to heaven; when the Messiah comes, those buried in the Holy Land would be the first to be resurrected.

5. Jews and many historians call C.E. the Common Era and not the Christian Era.

6. Abir 1974:1.

7. Goitein 1964.

8. H. Cohen 1973:62–63.

9. Stevenson (1985:45) found in 1979 in a northern Yemeni town that Muslims remember good and harmonious relations with Jews, often attributed to the good offices of the shaykh who ensured that Jews would be protected.

10. Goitein in Ratzhabi 1978:238.

11. P. Cohen 1961:233.

12. Goitein 1955:18.

13. Goitein 1969:230–233; Tobi 1974.

14. Goitein 1953:1; 1969:233. It is clear, however, that material factors were also important as we see later in this chapter.

15. Ratzhabi 1978:242–245.

16. Tobi personal communication; *Encyclopedia Judaica 1971:744.*

17. Polygyny was not common, but did exist among Jews in Yemen. It was forbidden in most areas of the Jewish diaspora. A man and his wives were seen as one family. A husband usually rotated between the bedroom of each wife. There were three polygynous Yemeni families in Gadot even though it was no longer legal practice when Jews moved to Israel.

18. In fact most Jews, too, were miserably poor and not much better off than farmers. When farmers reaped a poor harvest, Jews were adversely affected since demand for their work dropped proportionately. However, some Yemeni

Jews in contemporary Israel claim that Jews were more economically secure than farmers because they were not dependent on the will of God to bring rain.

19. Here my data depart from Caspi 1985 who claims that girls could refuse a betrothal. The Yemenis with whom I worked claim that this was impossible.

20. In Yemen, 60 percent of marriages among Jews were between patrilineal kin (P. Cohen 1961:236).

21. See Peres *et al.* 1978.

22. de Vaux's (1965:27) interpretation concerning the ancient Israelite marriages seems to be applicable to the Yemeni Jews: "This obligation to pay a sum of money, or its equivalent, to the girl's family obviously gives the Israelite marriage the outward appearance of a purchase. But the mohar seems to be not so much the price paid for the woman as a compensation given to the family, and, in spite of the apparent resemblance, thereby acquires a right over the woman, but the woman herself is not bought and sold."

23. See Spector 1960 and Caspi 1985 on the hinna rituals.

24. For economic reasons, particularly when an area was over supplied with one type of artisan, there was considerable internal migration of Jews in Yemen.

25. This is Yemeni Jewish custom; it is not halakhic.

26. Divorce was very common among Jews in Yemen. While in accordance with Jewish law only men could grant a *get* (a writ of divorce), women were remembered for successfully manipulating their husbands into divorce.

27. Women's visiting sessions are a very important part of daily life in Yemeni Muslim society (Dorsky 1986; Makhlouf 1979). In a totally female milieu, women readily exchange information—which enables them to influence male decision-making—male activities are criticized and female strengths admired (Dorsky: 20–21). Jewish women did not partake in extensive daily visiting because of their duties in craft production, but the conversational and dramatic content (in terms of telling tales and acting out skits) during visiting sessions was virtually the same as among Muslim women. Among the oldest women in Gadot, visiting sessions are still the focal point of Sabbath afternoons.

28. Dorksy 1986; Dwyer 1978; Fernea 1969, 1976; Katzir 1976; Lancaster 1981; Maher 1974; Makhlouf 1979; Mernissi 1975; Nelson 1974; and Wikan 1980.

29. Palgi 1975:2.

30. Schectman (1961:46), a historian, says: "The least educated (men) knew large portions of the Bible by heart, and the more oppressed they were, the more ardently did they cling to and cultivate the exalted spiritual vision of their people. They found in it refuge and solace from their abject existence, keeping alive and intense their dream of the Holy Land, fervently longing for the Messiah who would deliver them from exile. It was this dream of redemption that, more than anything gave the Jews of Yemen the strength to survive millennia of servitude and persecution." Women, too, expressed their love for Zion in their songs (Gamlieli 1971:207–240).

31. Most Yemeni Arabs are Sunni Muslims.

32. Patai 1970b:187–88; and Schechtman 1961:47. Patai (187–88) notes of the Yemenis who came *circa* 1908–1915: "This second Yemenite Aliyah and the

rapid adjustments of its members to agricultural work in Palestine made Dr. Arthur Ruppin aware of the possibilities of building up a Yemenite-Jewish agricultural labour force in Palestine to replace the Arab workers who were then commonly employed in the Jewish agricultural settlements. . . . Samuel Yavnieli, one of the first members of the Second (Russian) aliyah, was entrusted in 1911 with the delicate and difficult task of going to Yemen in the guise of a religious emissary to spread there the idea of immigration to Palestine. . . . In one of his lectures Yavnieli epitomized the argument he used vis-à-vis the Yemeni Jews: 'I called upon them to bend the yoke. Enough of your standing aside and taking no part in the upbuilding of Palestine. For hundreds of years you have been sitting here on this land, and have only received. You received the Talmud from there. . . . Where are the stones which you have contributed to the building of the nation? Now you must send your strength to Palestine, the best of your sons. . . . He who takes part in the suffering of the community will have the merit to see its consolation. Go up to Palestine to take your share, go up to work, go up to watch!'"

33. Other Middle Eastern and North African groups were not so fortunate because they did not have large numbers of relatives already in the Yishuv. For example, less than 1000 Jews had arrived from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia between 1919–1948 (Schechtman:366). By 1919 there were 4,234 Yemeni Jews in Palestine, 7.6 percent of the total Jewish population. The majority were agricultural labourers. By 1943, there were twenty Yemeni settlements (Schechtman 48–49). In 1961 Schechtman (360–361) claimed, with some justification and a bit of exaggeration, that the Yemeni Jews were the most "thoroughly integrated Jewish community in Israel, firmly rooted in the land. . . . This is due in the main to the Yemenites *(sic)* own qualities, first and foremost to their boundless love for and attachment to the Holy Land . . . they are imbued with a deep-seated and genuine pioneering spirit. They never spurn any kind of work and possess that rare quality of being satisfied with their lot. . . . "

34. Tobi, personal communication.

35. Schechtman: 60.

36. Schechtman 1952:209. See Barer 1953 for a complete account of Operation Magic Carpet.

Notes

1. I would emphasise that this high resettlement rate among the newly married is somewhat atypical for Israeli immigrant settlements (Cf. Berler 1970; Comay and Kirschenbaum 1973; Marx 1976; and Spiegel 1968).

2. Klaff 1973, 1977. The following information will give the reader some background on the population of Gadot by continent of origin.

	1961		1972	
	No.	%	No.	%
Born in Israel	2261	34	4182	47
Born elsewhere:				
Asia (Turkey, Yemen, Iraq)	2408	36	2263	25
North Africa	357	5	738	8
Europe/America	1265	19	1395	16
Others	395	6	400	4
Total population	6686	100	8978	100

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics 1961 and 1972)

3. Aronoff 1973c, 1974b; Berler 1970; Berler and Shaked 1966; E. Cohen 1970; and Matras 1973.

4. CBS 1980a:99.

5. Given the large Turkish population in Gadot, one might expect more synagogues. The two Turkish synagogues are considered to be large with over one hundred families each, but, on the whole, in Israel the Turks are not as religiously observant as they were in Turkey. I am not certain of the reason for this, but it may be because most Gadot Turks originating from urban Turkey were already somewhat cosmopolitan, and less inclined to remain religious in Israel. Such failing to maintain religious observances after immigration is not peculiar to Turks.

6. The yeshiva students travel daily to Gadot from an ultra-orthodox suburb of Tel Aviv. I never learned their reasons for studying at the sub-standard yeshiva in Gadot.

7. The public clerk was an excellent source of information on these matters because he was well-acquainted with the occupational composition of Gadot through his participation in forming local tax brackets.

8. The Yemeni head of the local Religious Council and I drew up this estimate by counting the surnames in the population registry that were definitely of Yemeni origin. He then added on 150 families for those who changed their names. The number may be higher than 600 households, but certainly is not lower.

9. For the purposes of this book, I shall define a "household" as a residential group, that is, persons who share a particular dwelling, on a temporary or permanent basis.

10. Six families came from the Israeli-born generation, mothers aged 20–34. Along with forty-four other mothers of this age group, these women were the subjects of intensive interviewing conducted (only for this age group) mostly by my Yemeni research assistant. The lifestyles of these younger families warrants a discussion but is outside the scope of this book (see Gilad 1982).

11. Many of the changes endured by the immigrant generation in this study are not specific to them but shared with other immigrants in Israel, particularly those from the Yemen. On the other hand, one must be careful about generalizing these data to *all Yemeni Jews in Israel* since, as I have noted, Yemenis in Gadot do not maintain a homogeneous ethnic community like most Yemenis of the immigrant generation elsewhere in Israel.

12. Hazleton 1977:165.

13. I did not conduct formal interviews with unmarried women for reasons which I explain in Chapter 6. I learned about them through spending time with them and gaining their trust as a friend.

14. This section is written largely for the reader who knows little of the background of Israeli ethnic composition.

15. For the origins of the terms Ashkenazi and Sephardi see Zimmels (1958:8–9). Sephardim are people who usually can claim their origins to the Jewish community in Spain prior to its expulsion in 1492, and who continue to utilize a variant of the customs and liturgical traditions of Spanish Jewish culture. A somewhat elite Sephardic community lived in Palestine for generations prior to Israeli statehood. Large communities of Sephardim were to be found in Bulgaria, Turkey, Holland, Russia, and, more recently, in North America. The Jews of South Yemen adhered to some forms of Sephardic tradition that filtered through to Yemen, but themselves are not Sephardim. It is common in Israel to hear Eidot HaMizrah referred to as Sephardim as well as Mizrahim. Since Yemeni Jews in Gadot almost always used the term Mizrahi to refer to North African and Middle Eastern Jews, I do as well.

16. See Ben-Rafael (1982:13–20) on "dominant culture" in Israel.

17. CBS 1980b:57.

18. It should be noted that the leaders and cadres of the Moroccan group usually emigrated elsewhere.

19. Eisenstadt 1954, 1967; Etzioni-Halevy 1977; Fein 1968; Peleg and Peleg 1977; and Willner 1969.

20. Shama and Iris 1977:48–50.

21. Weller 1974:21.

22. Weller:4.

23. Willner 1965:65.

24. Heller 1973:318.

25. E. Cohen 1972:95.

26. Rejwan 1971:19.

27. Rejwan:19.

28. Toledano 1973:333.

29. Heller:317.

30. Lissak 1973:364.

31. P. Cohen 1967, 1968; Heller 1973; Krausz 1972; Peres 1971; Smooha 1978; Smooha and Peres 1975; Weingrod 1965; and Weller 1974.

32. Krausz:4; Heller:321; Rejwan 1968; and Toledano 1973.

33. See Nagata (1974:333) on situational ethnicity.

34. Cf. Mars 1980:68.

35. In my opinion, the financial support of ethnic associations is to demonstrate that the government itself is not discriminatory against Mizrahim. Moreover, it is easier to support "cultural" activities than to really come to grips with the "ethnic-class" troubles of Israeli society.

36. Remba 1973:36.

37. CBS 1980b:275.

38. CBS 1980b:580.

39. CBS 1980b:314–15; Weller 1974:87–96.

40. CBS 1980b:580.

41. Remba:208.

42. Remba:208.

43. Horowitz 1980.

44. Smooha and Peres 1975.

45. CBS 1980b:275.

46. Bellos 1978:12.

47. Pack 1973.

ethnically segregated settlements because they have so many more cultural models and socio-economic classes around them in Gadot. In Yemen, a family's status was derived from wealth, learning, and devotion. While a wealthy man might have a more active role in relation to Muslim shaykhs or governors, a learned and devout man could be poor and greatly enjoy the respect of his community. In Israel, while many men of low economic status have chosen to re-create the Yemeni Jewish study sessions of religious texts, the knowledge of who is learned and scholarly is usually kept among those particular men who study together, and a man's religious knowledge does not seem to be a factor that enters into his authority over his wife and children. Most of the "learned" men talked about with reverence by Yemenis in Gadot had, in fact, already died. By contrast, men who have gained considerable public prestige in the religious domain are usually wealthy or have received a formal education in Israel. There is the kind of man who will build a synagogue to honour his father—and such men are economically better off and have powerful personalities. Men who are involved in the religious council usually have had at least high school education, and perhaps have spent some time in a yeshiva. Another avenue to high status is involvement in local politics, whether in the local council or the worker's council and/or labour union.

The small number of men who have achieved positions of high status in Israel, enjoy considerable authority over their children. Also, they invariably have good relationships with their wives who, for their part, tend to be full-time housewives. For these people, the old models of gender relations bear some ***reality*** in Israel. But most men have not been this fortunate, and wives, with their husbands, have faced considerable difficulties of making ends meet. We have seen how women take on new responsibilities, and bring in a cash income, even as they remain primarily responsible for the housework and childcare; what is particularly revealing about this is the lengths women will go to protect their husbands' already deflated ego and their own sense of a woman's primary devotion to her children. Yet is also true that women draw great strengths from their new activities in Israeli society. Even in the most traditional male domain of all—the practice of religion, women have begun to be active ***among themselves,*** such as in the Portion of the Week session and seminars run by the Religious Women's Movement. Here is yet another area of life in which they more fully actualize themselves as persons in Israel.

Notes

1. In Yemen, Jews did not have a term for the nuclear family. There they used the Arabic term ***bayt*** to denote the patronymic group. In Israel, the broad kinship group which includes all paternal relatives is now called hamula, a term

also used by other Mizrahim and Israeli and Palestinian Arabs. I was not able to ascertain why or when Yemenis decided to use this term. Hamula does have some significance for Yemeni born men. It includes all paternal relatives. Its significance lies in the fact that men can expect to rely on members of their "clan" for help in feuds, they may go to them for loans, they would be more likely to form partnerships with paternal relatives than with non-relatives, and together they may try to take control of an economic niche. In Gadot, for example, one clan has complete control of the metal works, another of the auto mechanic shops, and a third, that of the former mayor, has a large number of members in town administration. It is not an important identification for women, however, and for that reason hamula is not discussed in this chapter.

2. For a detailed discussion of kinship terminology in Yemen and Israel, see Gilad 1982.

3. Cf. Firth *et al.* 1969:92.

4. Goitein 1978:21.

5. See Shamgar-Handelman and Belkin (1984) on the use of space in Israeli working class homes.

6. Changes in residence patterns brought about by immigration have numerous implications as we see in *Ginger and Salt.* In immigrant societies where the joint family still functions as a residential and economic unit, sisters-in-law might very well continue to give each other solace—particularly where they *lack* power vis-à-vis their menfolk. This seems to be the case, for example, among some East Asian women in England (Wilson 1978:35).

7. When an elderly woman finds herself in a situation of dependency on her daughter-in-law, this is the reverse of the situation remembered to have existed in Yemen where the elderly mother was the female head of the household. In Gadot, elderly mothers-in-law have lost their power as authority figures since the nuclear household is now the norm and elderly mothers are demoted in status if they are forced to live with a son and his family.

8. Gamlieli 1979:147–149.

9. In the shtetl, a girl's family gave a dowry—transferred to her groom's family—and this is probably because the groom moved to his wife's parents' house, thus his family lost his labour and for this there is some recompense in the form of a dowry.

10. As Lamphere (1986a:267) says of immigrant situations generally: ". . . the place of immigrant men in the local economy will have an important impact on what roles women will play in immigrant families. Thus, women cannot be treated in isolation from men or from the family units of which they are a part."

11. Rosaldo (1974:23–24) originally put the case for the analytical value of using public and domestic domains in relation to gender-related activities and ideologies: ". . . it will be seen that an opposition between 'domestic' and 'public' provides the basis of a structural framework necessary to identify and explore the place of male and female in psychological, cultural, social, and economic aspects of human life. . . . Though this opposition will be more or less salient in different social and ideological systems, it does provide a universal framework for conceptualizing the activities of the sexes. The opposition does

not *determine* cultural stereotypes or asymmetries in the evaluations of the sexes, but rather underlies them, to support a very general (and, for women, often demeaning) identification of women with domestic life and of men with public life . . ."

We will see that women were identified with domestic life in Yemen, but while this is to some extent still an *ideological* truth in Israel, women's activities and their reality is far from being solely domestic. See Yanagisako (1979:193) on the analytical importance of examining "the relationships between change in ideology of family and kinship and change in actual institutional arrangements."

12. On the domestic/pubic debate, see Bujra 1982; Imray and Middleton 1983; Nagata 1985; Quinn 1977; Reiter 1975; Rosaldo 1974, 1980; Sacks 1975; and Sciama 1981.

13. Bujra 1982: 22.

14. Imray and Middleton 1983; Reiter 1975:281; Sciama 1981:90; and Zaretsky 1973.

15. Bujra 1982:25.

16. While in macro-economic terms the character of women's participation in industrial production might be universal in terms of subordination and exploitation, in the domestic sphere of social reproduction, in many developing and industrial societies, women who work in paid employment have great power and authority in the domestic domain no matter how limited their power in the industrial arena may be (P. Cohen 1961:52–54; Lewenhak 1980:244; Makhlouf and Obermeyer 1978:339; Salaff 1981; Salaff and Wong 1982; Tilly and Scott 1978:116; and Touba 1980:59). Moreover, women's participation in production is not simply a reflection of their domestic roles as some writers have suggested (Wajcman 1981:15). A major conclusion of a recent Wenner-Gren conference on the sexual division of labour was summed up by Kelly (1981:272) as follows: "The discussion . . . during the conference led to the conclusion that the division of labour by gender has different meanings depending on its cultural and social contexts. In addition, the activities that women perform are variously defined in terms of the content and the social values attached to them. It cannot be said that women's labour is intrinsically inferior to that of men or that it is universally judged to be so. What confers a differential value upon gender-specific labour is the socially sanctioned rewards bestowed on or denied to groups of men and women."

17. I include economic activities in the domestic sphere because, in Yemen, Jews considered household-based production to be domestic activity. Exceptions to this perception were those occupations which took men out of the home, such as merchants and long-distance traders. In Israel, by contrast, all economic activity is considered to belong to the public domain because production is located outside of the household.

18. Five of thirty-five women married in Yemen.

19. Nine women married first or second cousins.

20. The subject of the continuation, or otherwise, of arranged marriages in immigrant cultures is revealing in what it tells us about particular immigrant communities—whether they are large enough to provide a community with

strong measures of social and family control and a sufficient range of potential spouses; how the host society defines racial and ethnic categories which can act to encourage the maintenance of cultural ways; and whether or not the institution of arranged marriage can prove itself flexible enough to take into account the new demands of the young to refuse a parent's choice of spouse, amongst many other factors. There is tremendous variation cross-culturally. Particularly in the not-so-visible ethnic minorities, parents are often satisfied if their children at least choose as a spouse another Italian, Greek, or Catholic. They are not able to force such choices because they themselves recognize children's freedom to choose, for example, in America; or by contrast, they may even accept "integration" at the level of marriage. A critical factor here is religion: America or Canada might be viewed as essentially Christian nations and thus it is easier for Christian immigrants, whether from the Mediterranean or Eastern Europe, to find their own niche, but one that is not connected to ethnic endogamy. For others, by contrast, who come from societies which are religiously, racially and culturally distinct from the predominantly Christian societies they "join," people may maintain the institution of arranged marriages for numerous reasons: to re-establish ethnic/caste divisions from the old country; to maintain cultural integrity in the new country particularly when facing racial hostility; for young people to prove their devotion and allegiance to their family and community; and so on (Ballard and Ballard 1977:48–50; Bhachu 1986; and Wilson 1978:106–120). These seem to be among the reasons that arranged marriages can withstand the pressures of immigration especially among many Asian groups in England. It is striking, moreover, that among East African Sikhs, in Britain, for example, changes are brought about in the content of arranged marriages that indicate a rise in women's status. Wage earning brides can now contribute financially to their dowries, and this has all sorts of implications for more independence from affinal kin and the right to make important decisions about residence after marriage than was the case in East Africa (Bhachu 1985:164–165).

21. The married children of these older women also feel that they have "modern" marriages. However, they build homes on the backyards or adjoining plots of parents who have detached houses whenever possible for reasons of companionship, convenience to grandmothers who act as childminders, and because it is more prestigious to live in a detached house. In some cases two or three related families who live side-by-side form a domestic group in that they share all domestic labour and meals, but they do maintain separate bank accounts. It seems, then, that if parents and their children are financially able, they will rebuild some attributes of the multiple family household that was characteristic of Jewish life in Yemen.

22. See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of the family purity rituals.

23. Stevenson 1985:44–46.

24. Cf. Katzir (1976:258) on Yemeni Jewish men on the moshav.

25. Men themselves can suffer from the loss of female relatives: Jamaicans in London may stay with their wives because they have no female relatives to count on in the event of divorce (Foner:1978). Men's suffering from their loss of identity and status in the immigrant context may also lead to domestic violence

(Meintel *et al.* 1985:36). On the weakening of immigrant fathers' familial authority see Buchanon Stafford 1985; Haddad 1981; and Laguerre 1978.

26. See Amir 1973; Miller 1974; and Shoham 1970b, 1971, 1973, 1976. Such behavioural and psychological side-effects are not simply related to resettlement, but also to the fact that Mizrahi immigrant men were the least employable of all immigrants; hence many suffered from long-term unemployment, and, as well from their relatively lower status as compared with Ashkenazi groups and their dependence upon public institutions (Chouraqui 1973:290–302).

27. When discussing why Yemeni women so readily entered the paid labour force in Israel, one has to keep in mind that other Mizrahi immigrant women of their generation did ***not*** do so to the same extent. Chouraqui (303) suggests that low education and the demands of their large families prevented Mizrahi women from working outside the home. Yet, Yemeni women, too, were uneducated and had large families, but most have worked in paid labour. In 1960, 26 percent of Mizrahi women were in the labour force, but this figure does not seem so very low when we learn that by 1960 only 52 percent of North African ***men*** in Israel were in the labour force, the lowest percentage of any immigrant group (Chouraqui:302). In 1953, when larger numbers of North Africans started coming to Israel (very few arrived in the pre-state years), the economy, having already absorbed the Yemenis and the Iraqis into the unskilled labour sectors, was entirely unprepared to receive them. These immigrants did not benefit from a pre-state community like the Yemenis women who forged, through domestic labour, childminding, and office clearing, an economic niche for their own eidah. While Shoham (1973:27–29) argues that the North African Jewish beliefs in the afterlife allow poor people better able to put up with their lot—and thus accept poverty and welfare, neither of which the Yemenis were prepared to do—it is also likely that Yemenis as the "darlings" of the Ashkenazim loosely controlled the domestic labour market and that Ashkenazim preferred to employ them over other Mizrahi immigrant women and men. The plight of North African immigrant women in Israel is seriously understudied so any further suggestions as to why they did not enter the paid labour force in large numbers would be mere speculation.

28. In immigrant situations it is common that employed wives persuade newly-arrived compatriots that women should work in paid employment for the good of their families. For example, see Lamphere's (1986a:273) discussion of this among Columbians in New England.

29. In all, twenty-nine of the thirty-five women in this study worked as domestics, as agricultural labourers, and as factory workers before their marriages.

30. In Chapter 5 there is a detailed discussion about women viewing their involvement in paid labour as an extension of their mothering roles. Prieto (1986:107) summarizes the research on immigrant women which has invariably found that women work outside the home in response to their family's economic needs, not because of any conscious desire for emancipation. Furthermore, they work to enable their children to have a better life, and, for many women, as Gannage (1985:30) aptly puts it, this is the "heart and soul of their struggle" and their ability to put up with their double work day. See also Gannage 1986.

31. In Chapter 1 I stressed the importance of seeing how immigrant women themselves view their situation especially since their self-perceptions might not merge with some feminist interpretations. Even if, objectively, women's position in the new society is one of oppression, misery and subordination, women themselves may view their immigrant lives as considerably better off than in the old country. Foner's (1986) study of Jamaicans in the United States and London, Pessar's (1984) study of Dominicans in New York, and Meintel *et al.* (1985) of Columbians in Montreal, clearly show the discrepancy between the social scientist's evaluation of women's status and the people she studies. These writers, commendably, do not underestimate the importance of giving equal value to women's own evaluations of their position.

This matter, however, is considerably complicated by intra-cultural differences in experience, often based on class status in the old country or differences in the receiving society. Thus, one finds Haitian women in New York who feel degraded because they have gone from high status jobs in Haiti to low status jobs in New York because of lack of American qualifications, racist attitudes, or incompetence in English (Buchanon Stafford 1985:13). If these women had emigrated to Montreal instead, where they could have used their mother tongue (French), they might have been able to retain their high status jobs and to procure even more professional, economic, and social advantages in the immigrant context (Meintel *et al.*:37). Haitians who have gone from not working in Haiti to working in paid labour as migrants in New York, feel this reduces their dependence on men, enables them to fulfill their roles as mothers more effectively because they help the family achieve a higher standard of living, and allows them to invest savings for their old age (Buchanon Stafford:14). For a detailed discussion of the contradictory elements of women's own evaluations as compared with those of the social scientist, see Bhachu 1986:238–239; Brettell and Simon 1986:16–18; Foner 1986; and Nagata 1985:1–4.

32. This is usually called in the literature "the helping syndrome" and is certainly not peculiar to immigrant families (Goody 1985; Epstein 1971; Pitrou 1980; and Prieto 1986). For example, Pitrou (119, 126) has found that while young French middle class women will limit the number of children to one or two, will get more help from husbands in childrearing and will try to re-evaluate motherhood as a woman's privilege in order to have professional careers outside of the home, they still view their income as "contribution pay," of secondary importance to family income. Regardless of how much help women get with child-rearing, part of the reason women see themselves as "helping" their husbands to provide and husbands see themselves as "helping" their wives in the home is because each spouse defines his or her efforts in relation to the essential (or, as Goody[9] says "core") gender role of each other. These cultural notions of duty and responsibility are highly resistant to change (Goody:9–10). Below, I discuss further the ideology of mutual help among Yemenis.

33. It seems that most immigrant men of many cultural backgrounds experience difficulties when their wives go out to work for income. This affects their sense of honour *as defined by life in the old country;* it hurts their ego; it often forces them to participate minimally in child-rearing; it possibly puts their wives and

daughters in physical or sexual danger; and outside work also encourages women to be more independent and outspoken (Buchanon Stafford:16; Lamphere 1986a:273; and Meintel *et al.*:32). Women's entry into wage labour, at first, is probably such a hotly debated issue because immigrant men are not yet certain of their own social position in the new society or whether they can economically provide for their families. If their economic roles have been essential in defining themselves as males, husbands and fathers, then relinquishing exclusive responsibility for financial support of the family is bound to make men feel uneasy about their wives' new earning power.

34. Similarly, for Dominican women in the United States, getting help is a "moral victory," but they do not expect men to take half the burden because this is emasculating (Pessar 1984:91). Eastern European Jewish immigrant women in the United States, while critically important for making ends meet, always maintained a humble acceptance of the male prerogative (Bienstock 1979:175).

35. Or maybe they do not complain specifically about their double work day because it has been the rhythm of their life for so long, and part of the struggle to make ends meet. Gannage (1985:15–28; 1986) relates some gripping evidence of immigrant women's difficulties in juggling the home, their children, and work outside in a foreign environment.

36. Twenty of thirty-five men have not achieved a position of prestige.

37. This happens elsewhere, too. For example, in Haddad's (1981:140) study of Syrian women in Chicago, women's earning power has broken the patriarch's status in the family and, related to this, women have become the disciplinarians of their children. American society itself supports this latter change: schools call in mothers to discipline their children, not fathers, presumably because mothers are thought of as housewives. In the case of the Syrian women who work for income, however, they themselves view their ability to work outside and to discipline their children as an improvement over women's dependence and subjugation in Syria (that is, as an advance beyond the traditional housewife role).

38. It has been found in many studies that the greater the husbands' earnings and status, the less a wife's employment affects the distribution of power in the household (Bahr 1974; Blood and Wolfe 1960; and Scanzoni 1978). Yemeni Jewish couples bear out this assertion inversely: the less a husband earns and the lower his status, the more power his wife has in decision-making and in her authority over the children.

39. The children never mentioned that their father was not intelligent or may have suffered from some sort of personality disorder.

40. There is enormous cross-cultural variety in women's ability to effect changes in the family because of their wage earning power. For some women, changes have been significant in respect to their own autonomy and ability to influence major decisions (Appleyard and Amera 1986; Bhachu 1986; Buchanon Stafford 1985; Fitzpatrick 1971; Foner 1986; Haddad 1981; and Pessar 1984). For others, the changes that have been brought about are usually in respect to those areas directly affected by a woman's employment: childcare and financial decisions rather than getting help with housework or more freedom of movement (Meintel

et al.:33, 34, 40; and Touba 1980:59). It is difficult to explain such differences; it is as though each immigrant context is culturally and economically unique. One cannot even generalize about major regional identifications, as the working patterns—and domestic repercussions that result from these—of South Asian women in Britain clearly demonstrate (Saifullah-Khan 1979:123).

41. Rosman-Brenner 1982. Similar ideas seem to be held by the majority of Israeli men and women, including those in the kibbutz movement, despite popular myths of gender egalitarianism in Israeli society. See Datan 1973; Gerson 1978; Hazleton 1977; Lahav 1977; Rein 1977; Spiro 1980; and Tiger and Shepher 1975.

42. This is not simply a working class syndrome, as discussion of the "helping" ideology points out. It is also firmly rooted in many middle class families as Yoger's (1981) study of Northwestern University faculty members illustrates. There, working women expand their roles by adding new responsibilities rather than by relinquishing old ones. Yoger suggests that this may be to keep tensions at a minimum, tensions that arise through potential conflicts between the demands of the home and the workplace and husbands' and wives' perceptions thereof.

43. In her analysis of the "helping syndrome" among a variety of immigrant women studies, Goody (1985:10) insightfully points out: "There is, of course, a lack of symmetry to a spouse 'helping' in male and female core conjugal roles. For men it is potentially demeaning (to participate in childcare and housework); for women a matter of increased self-respect as well as a source of income. Thus, there is a built-in tendency for men to withdraw from sharing tasks falling within women's core roles. But there is also a tendency for women to continue helping in the male 'provider' role despite the absence of reciprocal help with domestic tasks from the husband. Indeed, the pattern of women's two jobs—waged and domestic—repeatedly found in the studies reported here reflects precisely this imbalance."

44. This is a typical pattern in immigrant families elsewhere (Cf. Appleyard and Amera 1986:224; Meintel *et al.*:28 and Pessar 1984:1191). Yet there are reports in the literature where men simply will not help despite a woman's difficulties in juggling all of her responsibilities (see Gannage 1985:23) perhaps because, already feeling humiliation outside the home, they cannot face further humiliation (as they see it to be) in the home (see previous note). It seems, however, it is in this extreme situation, where men do not help at all or are not good spouses otherwise that immigrant women can leave their husbands because they have become accustomed to being economic providers and household managers (see Buchanon Stafford 1985; Foner 1986; Gannage 1985; and Meintel *et al.*:43).

45. Twenty-one of thirty-five wives deny that there was a division of duties in the home. Of these, seventeen work in paid employment, and eighteen enjoy good marital relations. In my observations of these couples, there was a marked correspondence between gender and roles; husbands performed few household chores.

46. This ideology of mutual help is indicated in women's responses to an interview question about their feelings of "equality" in the division of roles between husband and wife. Twenty-eight, or 80 percent, of the thirty-five women

in the research set replied that husbands and wives make equal contributions to household functioning. Seven of eight housewives claimed that they make equal contributions to family functioning through their housework and child-rearing activities. By contrast, six women reported that they contribute ***more*** than their husbands to family functioning because of their work in paid employment; these women clearly feel that they carry too many burdens. But such responses are clearly in the minority, and most women—whatever they may believe to the contrary—say that there is equality in the division of roles. Most of these couples had been married for at least twenty years. In an American study on "equity in marital roles" at different stages in the family life cycle, it was found that older couples perceived greater equality—"you" and "me" becomes "we"—after years of struggle (Shafer and Keith 1981:359–367). Indeed, this study bears out this contention: younger Yemeni Jewish wives, while clearly receiving more actual "help" in the home from husbands, in fact saw greater inequalities in conjugal duties with too many responsibilities falling on the wife.

47. See Morokvasic 1984:888.

48. Cf. Buchanon Stafford 1985:21.

49. Reiter 1975:281; and Wajcman 1981.

50. The Portion of the Week is the chapter of the Torah that is read in any particular week in the synagogue. In Gadot, the Yemeni rabbi's wife leads a discussion group every Sabbath afternoon to discuss the weekly portion among women. The moral and ethnic significance of this discussion group is discussed in the next chapters.

51. Here "intermarriage" refers to unions of Yemenis with non-Yemeni Jews, not with non-Jews.

52. Zborowsky and Herzog 1970.

belief and practice, that is, those who have not experienced defilement, presumably do not face problems on this account, and they may readily accept the notion that Judaism exists today because of women's responsibility towards the table (kashrut) and the family (taharat hamishpahah). However, even their well brought-up daughters may accuse them of being "primitive" for maintaining such attitudes.

It seems to me that it is in the arena of female sexuality that there has been the most continuity between women's experiences in Yemen and their relations with their husbands in Israel. Sexual intercourse is endured because of wifely obligations and the social and biological imperative to procreate. Immigrant women's attitudes regarding their daughters' sexuality do not differ from those of their mothers and grandmothers—pre-marital virginity is equated with honour and there is an inability to recognize daughters as sexual beings. Yet the mothers realize that the secular world of Israeli society holds attitudes drastically different from their own; hence, as I shall show, they make some alterations in their actions towards their daughters.

Notes

1. Fernea 1985:301.
2. Epstein 1978:100–101.
3. Of course there are serious methodological issues in trying to relate what the anthropologist collects as "oral history" to the social and psychological realities of everyday relationships. Whether we are transcribing from tapes or remembering to write down tidbits of information in our journals, it is unlikely that we are ever exact in our interpretations or later in the compilation of collective experiences. For the person who is concerned that anthropology be an exact science, the methodology of the "sociological imagination" as defined by C. Wright Mills (1969), i.e., the intersection of biography, history (including oral tradition), and social structure, will forever prove frustrating and inadequate. Personally, I see anthropology as a humanistic discipline, not as a science, and therefore I have been able to accept my own sociological imagination. This is not to say that I have not experienced difficulties in the writing of *Ginger and Salt* through using extensively "recalled form," that is, people's memories of their own upbringing as well as of Jewish life in Yemen, particularly since personal accounts often prove to be contradictory. I have seen it as my job to sort out the contradictions and to see why they exist (as part of the immigrant experience) and in doing so have tried to convey women's perceptions to the reader inasmuch as this is possible. In this section, on immigrant women as young daughters, I can only present "models" of their relationships with their parents, since, obviously, I was not around to observe them. To ignore people's memories because they are only memories, would be to deny the importance of the emotive and psychological impact of the past on contemporary social life.
4. Caplan 1981:preface.

5. Here there may be an element of idealization of the past. When women say that as daughters they fully enjoyed their relationships with their mothers in Yemen, they may be contrasting their actions as daughters to those of their own daughters in Israel. One only has to read ethnographic accounts of mother-child relationships elsewhere in the larger cultural area to realize the inherent strains in the mother-child relationship. (In particular, see Dwyer 1978:113–124; El Sa'adawi 1980; and Wikan 1982:241–244.) It is likely that women now in Israel do not recall, or choose not to relate, painful experiences of ambivalent feelings concerning their mothers because to do so could undermine their own maternal power in Israel.

6. Caspi 1985:23.

7. O Pakistan, O India: referring to distance.

8. Caspi:73.

9. Barakat (1985:28) has written a seminal article on the traditional and contemporary Arab family, much of which pertains to Jewish families in the Muslim Middle East: "The family is at the centre of social organization in all three Arab patterns of living. . . . The family constitutes the dominant social institution through which persons and groups inherit their religious, social class, and cultural identities. . . . The success or failure of an individual member becomes that of the family as a whole. . . . One's commitment to the family may involve considerable self-denial. Parents, and particularly the mother, deny themselves for the sake of their children. The source of the mother's happiness is the happiness and prosperity of her children. Both children and parents ideally are totally committed to the family itself." There are exceptions to this pattern, but they seem far and few between. Wikan (1982:239) remarks that in Sohar, Oman, a person is seen to have the power to shape the events of one's own life apart from consideration of one's family, and this, Wikan claims, is an exceptional case in the anthropological literature in the Arab world.

10. Of the thirty-five women in this study, five arrived in Israel between the ages of two and four; twenty-two arrived between the ages of five and fourteen; and seven arrived between the ages of 15–25. Four arrived prior to 1948; the only woman who arrived at age two in 1935 lived in an entirely Yemeni area and she received the same kind of upbringing as girls in Yemen.

11. Seven were sent to boarding school. Three of these were orphans; two had particularly problematic relationships with parents; and the remaining two convinced their parents to send them to boarding school because of its educational value.

12. See poem, Chapter 5, section 2.

13. This is common in other cultures where an aunt or grandmother explains bodily functions and the consequences of sexual intercourse to the young girl. For example, in traditional Ga society, the grandmother explains to the girl who has menstruated the "dangers" now attendant on her new situation, how to maintain her self-respect, and how to control herself (Azu 1971:45).

14. Marriage was not consummated until women reached puberty. By contrast, Yemeni Muslim brides do have intercourse even before the onset of menstruation.

15. This includes thirty-one of thirty-five women.

16. Divorce was common in Yemen and, if the problem was not between husband and wife, it could result from her inability to get along with his family.

17. Ganzfried 1963:21–23.

18. The interview was conducted in Hebrew.

19. This point of view is supported by some Jewish medical researches. It is not the mikveh which prevents cancer, but frequent abstention from sexual intercourse. See Meiselman 1978:128.

20. Meiselman:16.

21. According to Meiselman (127) such beliefs would fall into the category of 'folk' theory and do not have a direct relationship to halakhah. But note that Ganzfried uses the term 'unclean' in his interpretation. Although the mikveh is to impart spiritual, not physical cleanliness (*Encyclopedia Judaica,* 11:1534). In both Judaism and Islam, a major intent of the purity rules has to do with cleanliness for prayer (Fischer 1978:205).

22. Wood 1975:49.

23. *op. cit.*:52.

24. Ullrich 1975:67

25. Phyllis Palgi, a clinical anthropologist who has worked extensively with Yemeni Jews, has documented cases in which sexual defilement before a woman has performed the ritual ablutions has led to extreme consequences: spirit possession (Palgi 1978:126; 1983:328). Such women have sometimes ended up in psychiatric wards. Palgi explicitly recognizes the psychological upheavals which might be caused when practices such as the family purity rituals are followed in a less rigidly controlled environment such as Israel. Much of Palgi's work has focused on how the anthropologist can act as a cultural mediator between the two health systems utilized by many Middle Eastern and North African Jews in Israel, that of the traditional healer and the Western physician/psychiatrist.

26. Ganzfried:13–17.

27. As a result of timing the end of niddut with the most fertile time in the monthly cycle, many women get pregnant yearly. In contemporary Israel many resort to abortion as a means of family planning. This is well-documented in Basker's (1980) discussion of the use of abortion for family planning, particularly among Middle Eastern Jewish women. Those among the women whom I interviewed who had undergone repeated abortions viewed pregnancy as an illness and abortion as a cure, as those in Basker's study.

28. Of course this is not the case only among Yemeni Jews. See, for example, Goshen-Gottstein 1966:24–28; Kerr 1958:82; and Wolf 1972:139–140.

29. Again, Palgi (1983:328) suggests that forced intercourse can lead to spirit possession among Yemeni Jews.

30. It is interesting to note that Yemeni Muslim women remark upon the opposite side effects of qat, saying that it reduces men's sexual appetites and potency and prevents men from maintaining an erection (Dorsky:138). Given the fact that qat is a tranquilizer, this is probably true. In the case of my informant, her husband, when "high," probably did ask for sexual relations—thus being rendered "horny"—but since she refused him, she might not be aware of the detrimental effect of qat on male sexual activity.

31. This description of the situation of Yemeni Jewish women is in marked contrast to the data collected by Dorsky (134–139) among Yemeni Muslim women. In 'Amran, new brides are considered to be "normal" if they dislike sexual relations, but eventually they come to enjoy sex and expect their husbands to give them sexual pleasure. In spite of the fact that men (not women) are allowed pre-marital and extra-marital affairs, the situation described by Dorsky is considerably more egalitarian than that described elsewhere in the Muslim Middle East (Dorsky:210; Cf. Vielle 1978). There are a few other reports of female pleasure in sexual relations, such as among the traditional urban housewives in Cairo who expect frequent and lengthy intercourse with their husbands (el Messiri 1978:538), without being seen as "lascivious temptresses," which is how Moroccan women are generally viewed (Dwyer 1978:42; and Maher 1978:119.)

What I find difficult to explain is the difference in attitude and experience described by Yemeni Jewish and Muslim women, who have a lot in common in other matters. Both religions describe menstrual purity rituals, but in the case of Yemeni Jews, the time of abstention from sex (two weeks of every month) is longer and thus the expression of sexual desire (which in itself is culturally ambivalent) is more formally regulated.

32. On the duty of Jewish husbands to satisfy sexually their wives see Ganzfried:15–16. The Yemeni rabbi's wife might have discussed the commentaries on sexual relations in halakhah with women in the Portion of the Week sessions, or the women may have been informed at seminars for religious women in Jerusalem. It is unlikely that they read the halakhah themselves.

33. Caspi 1985:161–165.

34. This experience is reported by the immigrant women workers interviewed by Gannage (1986:57–58, 62): young mothers felt deep regret in having to leave their babies with minders so that they could go out to work; some of these same women leave the labour force in order to mind their grandchildren, in a sense to regain lost joys.

35. Once again, this only belongs to the immigrant experience: mothers born in Israel have received sufficient education to enable them to help their children with their homework. Cf. Abandan-Unat 1982:229.

36. In some immigrant situations, women may even *migrate* in order to earn better incomes, often leaving their children behind, or if taking them, relying on an eldest daughter to act as surrogate mother before she is emotionally ready, and preventing her from attending school (Abandan-Unat 1982:228–229). For some women, migrating alone, even if temporarily, might mean complete estrangement from their children; it is not yet known what effects this will have (Kudat 1982:296).

37. Most of these women had children in high school prior to 1978 when high school education became free of tuition fees.

38. For example, see the following sources in parent-adolescence conflict in the West: Davis 1940; Harris 1969; and Leslie 1973.

39. Ganzfried:6.

society is composed of immigrants, their children and their grandchildren, this is not to say that Jews from over 100 different countries of origin all belong to fully formed ethnic groups; only a sense of difference based upon culture and Diaspora history exists for most people. For the generations born in Israel, ethnic identity is often something rather residual, and, in any event, it is highly situational. This is the case for the young women in Gadot, women whose ethnic consciousness depends upon context.

Being Yemeni is a claim about parents' country-of-origin, what sorts of foods are eaten in the household, the customs used in celebrating Jewish holidays, how they sing and how they dance. As children of Yemeni parents, young women are usually proud of their heritage because this eidah enjoys high prestige in Israeli society. Being Yemeni also means looking like a Yemeni, because of the distinct olive colour, jet black hair, high cheek bones and large brown eyes which mark them off from other Diaspora groups. But such feelings of ethnic pride are coupled with ambivalence about the normative and conceptual conflicts which they experience with their parents. Because their parents were from the Yemen, they also come from a "primitive" background. In Israeli society, the youth conceive of themselves as "modern," holding modern mores and standards of judgement. The debates over the importance of pre-marital chastity and of the residence of unmarried women are just two examples of this; others we consider in the next chapter. In discussions with them, these unmarried women rejected, more often than not, the idea that their upbringing influences them to behave as Yemenis. First and foremost, they consider themselves to be Israeli. Indeed, the younger generation born in Israel do not face the same kinds of conceptual or practical dilemmas faced by their immigrant parents because their recollections of their pasts are not oriented to memories of a Yemen they never lived in, but by the developing standards and expectations of Israeli society. The gap between older parents and their children is not simply one created by "youth culture," as has been said of generation gaps elsewhere in the West, but by a real and pervasive cultural gap between parents and their children who have a completely different orientation to, and experience of, the past. It is to this subject that we turn now.

Notes

1. Most married women of the Israeli-born generation have the same general background as the unmarried women, having roughly the same number of years of education and the same kind of religious-cultural upbringing although half were from towns other than Gadot. Some of these women, particularly those who had served in the army and attended university, also married relatively late

by Israeli standards, that is over the age of twenty-five and had faced similar troubles as their unmarried sisters.

2. Since I left the field in the summer of 1981, sixteen of the thirty-three single women have married.

3. In the United States, while "spinsterhood," whether long or short-term, has generally been a socially recognized (if not a socially desirable category), the opening up of the universities to women in large numbers and women's own commitments to careers have considerably postponed marriage for many women. In the age range 20–24, 36 percent of women were not married in 1960 compared to 28 percent in 1970 in the United States. Popular belief often claims that the use of birth control pills delays marriage because of the new opportunity for "safe sex," or it blames the Women's Liberation Movement. In fact, these factors, along with demographic features, developed together with the enlargement of the *social* category of unmarried women (Bird 1979:27–35).

Israel belongs to the West in terms of its career development patterns, and for the non-religious, the sharing of some general attitudes towards the necessity for marriage (Judaeo-Christian ethic) and; at the same time, the ability to delay it. Yet, for immigrants from pre-industrial societies, delayed marriage is not an acceptable alternative for their daughters and hence unmarried women face more difficulties than those whose parents originate in the Western tradition.

4. In this chapter and the next, particularly in respect to sex and marriage, daughters talk about the stories and gossip which influence their decisions. In the confused context of immigrant cultures, "stories to grow on" are part of a child's life, stories with moral implications related to the way things were done in the old country and to the way things should be done in the new. Kingston's (1975:5) novel of growing up as a Chinese American provocatively questions the value of these stories and she wonders to what they are really related: "Chinese Americans, when you try to understand what things in you are Chinese, how do you separate what is peculiar to childhood, to poverty, insanities, one's family, your mother who marked your growing up with stories, from what is Chinese? What is Chinese tradition and what is the movies?"

5. Older brides, having gained more experience in life, are considered to be more demanding of their husbands. I did not collect evidence which confirmed this belief. But this does appear to be an important theme in "marriage lore" in other cultures. For example, in the quickly changing environment of African towns, women who have had a lengthy education, including training for a career, have passed the normal age of marriage and they become a bad risk in the eyes of potential husbands (Southall 1961:58).

6. Klaff (1977:116) shows that in the early 1960s Yemeni women were the least well-educated in comparison with eleven other country-of-origin groups in Israel (including Turks, Moroccans, Iraqis, Germans and Poles). Hence, the educational achievements of younger Yemeni women in Israel are significantly greater than those of women reared in Yemen and who migrated to Israel.

7. Almost all of the sociological studies of adolescence are concerned with the impact of children's formal education on parental authority (see, for example, White 1977). Seeley (1973:21) aptly criticizes many of these studies as distortions:

they lack "a sense of society and a sense of history." Particularly in immigrant contexts, one must consider the interrelation of power, economic, and ideological structures in order to understand the school experiences of immigrant youth (Allen 1973:53) and their impact on the immigrant family—which is likely undergoing the most dramatic changes of any type of family in a given society (Davis 1939). Fortunately, most anthropological studies of immigrants and their children try to come to grips with precisely these dimensions, and even more recently, have tried to bring to the fore the explicit cultural and racist attitudes of many host societies and their educators (for example, Ballard and Ballard 1977:43–47; Brody 1968; Foner 1978; and Wilson 1978:87–102.)

8. My observations bear this out.

9. In fact, this school is located in the only low-income neighbourhood of Gadot, near the town's centre. The large apartment blocks are subsidized housing for families "blessed with many children," invariably of North African or Turkish origin, where women do not work outside of the home, so the only income is derived from the wages of unskilled husbands and child benefit payments. Given the strong commitment of the local council to good educational facilities, I was always curious about why this school was left to fit the image of a substandard school, related in part to its student population which comes from economically "disadvantaged" (Israeli term) families. I was not able to discover how this was allowed to happen since local politicians and educators were not prepared to discuss the subject.

10. One should note that "boarding schools" in Israel provide an alternative to local public schools for children of all classes since they are heavily subsidized by the government, the religious establishments, and Diaspora charitable organizations. While some are known for their religious character, many boarding schools offer agricultural, vocational, or academic educational streams. Most boarding schools have achieved good reputations and, as socializing institutions, they more than adequately equip their pupils for an independent working life. Some, in fact, are specifically designed for the children of new immigrants, and it can easily be argued that in this context, the boarding school provides the newcomer with a crash course in the values and expectations of Israeli society. See Kahana 1986.

11. Cf. Lewis 1980:21.

12. In concurrence with this study, Jessop's (1981:103) study of parents and adolescents found, particularly on the power dimension in the area of decision-making, that young adolescents begin to seek their independence from the family.

13. Here my data depart from the findings of other studies on the socialization of immigrant youth or Israeli-born children of immigrants in the formal education system. Kahana (1986:28) summarizes the research on this subject, saying that such youth have not internalized the new values imparted to them by their teachers, and, in fact, students' schooling serves to confuse them and create marginality. I am sure this is true in many cases, but, at lease in retrospect, Yemeni young women in Gadot seem to have looked at the choices they had to make as part and parcel of growing up. It may be that the superior educational system in Gadot as a whole, due in large part to its solid economic position

and the influences of the neighbouring upper class suburb, have engendered a different and more positive educational experience and outcome than that known in the more substandard schools in more disadvantaged areas where Mizrahi immigrants predominate (particularly in poor urban neighbourhoods and towns).

14. The importance of this continuous contact with boys from an early age cannot be over-estimated. It is far more difficult to prevent pre-marital sex when contact is continuous from early childhood. In Yemen boys and girls were separated from the time when boys attended school at the age of three. Not sharing the same daily milieu, and living constantly under parental observation enhance the improbability of rules of chastity being broken.

15. Six of the thirty-three unmarried women attended religious secondary schools. Cf. Antonovsky 1980.

16. My discussion with several teachers confirmed these beliefs. Cf. Horowitz 1980; Kahana 1986.

17. Men, both married and unmarried, are called up for reserve duty until the age of fifty-four.

18. Of the twenty-seven women who went to the secular high school in Gadot, twenty-five served in the army. Of the two who did not, one claimed that she was religious to avoid conscription and the other's father prevented her from serving. Of the six women who attended religious schools in Tel Aviv, one served in the army, three in National Service, and two did not serve in either.

19. Nine women are full-time students, three of whom work part-time. The others are in the regular army, either doing conscript duty or as employees of the army, secretarial jobs, teaching, merchandizing, banking, childminding, and for one of these women, prostitution. Of these women, five are also part-time students studying nursing, teaching, accounting, psychology, and biology.

20. Given the high inflation rate, it would be meaningless to report their income in *shekelim,* the Israeli currency.

21. The Yemeni Jewish daughters in Katzir's (1976:244–45) study on the moshav also attended religious schools and the same pattern occurred: "While in the fifties daughters contributed greatly to household labour and in the sixties the working daughters stayed home after work and invested all income in the parents' household, in the late sixties and in the seventies, with mobility, the greater orientation to the towns, the general rise in educational levels of girls, the increase of young women working in the city, and the large numbers of girls in their late teens and early twenties, the contributions of daughters into the household rapidly decreased."

22. In some societies, however, daughters who have received some years of primary and secondary education (and certainly more education than their mothers had received), do contribute their incomes while they live in the parental household. Such contributions seem to depend on the nature of the political economy of these societies: where the family has to provide for most of its social services and parental incomes are entirely inadequate to achieve upward mobility and new consumption patterns, daughters and sons who live in the household contribute their earnings for common consumption. See, for example, Ghana, Azu 1971:107; Morocco, Maher 1978:106; and Hong Kong, Salaff 1981). There

are, apparently, exceptions to this. Wikan (1980:28) reports that in the poorest quarters of Cairo, where poor families must fend for themselves, teenagers who do get jobs spend their incomes on their daily needs and clothing, not making contributions.

23. See Shamgar-Handelman and Belkin (1984) on the utilization of space in large Israeli families.

24. Concepts of honour and shame have been extensively discussed in the anthropological literature. Notable sources are: Campbell 1964; DuBoulay 1974; Dwyer 1978; Herzfield 1980; Ortner 1978; Peristiany 1965; Pitt-Rivers 1977; Schneider 1971; Wikan 1982; and Wilson 1978.

25. Thirty-three of thirty-five mothers who were interviewed are opposed to pre-marital sex.

26. See Hazleton (1977:125–128) on sexual education courses in Israeli high schools and in the army.

27. For a discussion about the double standards held by Israeli boys respecting ideas about sex, see Antonovsky 1980.

28. Of course the question of who is more in control of sexuality, a man or a woman, differs cross-culturally. For several examples, in Sanani society, it is the women who have "strong sexual impulses which threaten the honour of the male and the integrity of the group," according to Makhlouf (1979:38). In Taroudannt society, men believe that women's sexual passion is uncontrollable, while women "emphasize their own unusual self-control as the element that holds a powerful female sexuality in check" (Dwyer 1978:151). By contrast, the Greek women in Piraeus believe that women control their sexual drive while men's sexual drive is physiologically imperative and cannot be controlled (Hirschon 1978:66–68). Moreover, these data exhibit intra-cultural differences within the Jewish people: folk ideas about sexuality may not be directly related to halakhah, the Jewish code of practice. Halakhah prohibits pre-marital sexual relations for both men and women. It is also prescribed that both should control their sexual desires: a woman must dress modestly so that she will not be pleasing to any man but her husband and a man must not force an unwilling wife to have sexual relations (Feldman 1986:60–80; and Meiselman 1978:116–124.)

29. Adolescents in industrial societies are strongly influenced by their peers to enter sexual relationships. For example, Shah and Zelnick (1981:339–47) found in a nation-wide American study that parents and peers showed very little agreement on ideas about sexual activities, that more young women are influenced by peers who are more permissive than parents, and that adolescent sexual behaviour is consistent with peers. This is not to say, however, that attitudes about sex inculcated during childhood are completely uninfluential once intercourse is experienced, as I show below. For example, Chester and Walker (1980:81) found that when women learned in childhood that sex is unpleasant, they often experience less sexual satisfaction.

30. This section does not discuss Israeli men's views about sex. Hazleton (121) offers an interesting comment which I think has extra validity when men are in the army: "Since their identity as Israelis is strongly linked to their identity as men, the more they can prove themselves stereotypically masculine, the stronger

their Israeli identity becomes. The Israeli man must prove his masculinity time and again; each proof reinforces his sense of national belonging and pride, and his rejection of any 'feminine' qualities within him. His desire for proof is nowhere more explicit than in sexual relations, where it becomes a struggle to master female sexuality, to establish the dominion of the male, and to block this threat to male identity."

31. The main problems that mothers face when trying to impress upon their daughters that this unbroken hymen symbolizes their honour, is that "honour" is now related only to the more ephemeral qualities of reputation and personal integrity. In the Israeli context, it does not have the kind of meaning it had in Yemen, or of which we read in the anthropological literature on honour and shame. That is, virginity has no economic value. Girls are not given in marriage after receipt of mohar: thus there is no property to return if a bride is not found to be a virgin. (Nor do they show a blood stained sheet after the marriage night.) There is little (or less) fear of illegitimate children because of contraception and abortion. Marriages are no longer primarily the joining of two families; free choice of spouse among the generation born in Israel symbolizes that it is now primarily the joining of two individuals. I have yet to hear of a contemporary story in which a girl was really returned to her parents because she was found not to be a virgin upon her marriage. With this in mind, it is easier to understand why some young women in Israel question the fuss made about the importance of pre-marital chastity.

32. Hazleton (134–135) makes much the same point.

33. And yet, by 1986, three of these four women had married.

34. See in particular *New Community,* volumes III, IV and VII. On Asians in Britain: Ballard 1978; Bhatti 1978; Brah 1978; Louden 1978, 1979; and Thompson 1974. On West Indians in Britain: Louden 1978, 1979; Troyna 1979; and Wood 1974. See also Dex 1983; Pryce 1978; Sharpe 1976:229–299; and Wilson 1978.

35. I should note here that I am also thinking of the younger Israeli-born generation mothers who were studied. Like their unmarried sisters, many have also achieved a measure of success, perhaps even more so since they are also married. Of the working mothers, two thirds are in professional or white collar jobs, 20 percent have achieved university degrees, and 28 percent completed twelve years of high school. It is important to note that of the 52 percent of married young women who had only 8–11 years of schooling, most did not grow up in Gadot, but came from entirely Yemeni or Mizrahi moshavim and development towns, thus supporting my contention that girls who grow up in Gadot have more opportunity for formal education.

36. For example, some believe in the evil eye once they have children. Some women use Yemeni spices and pastes particularly when their children are ill. Most women have Yemeni attitudes toward bed-wetting: they believe that when children receive their "common sense," they will stop wetting at night. They are also very permissive with toddlers and pre-school children, unlike the Ashkenazim who are viewed to be over-protective.

from Muslim men and therefore, they did not fear that Muslim society would corrupt their daughters. By contrast, in Israel, they see their daughters as corrupted by a secular, Western society, but this society is composed of Jews. At least, then, their daughters are "corrupted" by other Jewish men and women, and this, I propose, is much more acceptable than if, say, they were living in another Western country where the Gentiles are the ones doing the corrupting and where inter-religious marriages would pose a great threat. I believe that mothers' fundamental wish is that their children will not face the same kinds of difficulties they themselves faced as immigrants. Mothers and fathers worked to achieve "integration" for their children. The price they paid for "integration" has been heavy: children do not see their Yemeni heritage as integral to who they are (at least not while they are single); they discard both Yemeni and religious Jewish practices; they disregard their parents' authority; and they may delay marriage.[36]

Finally, another factor allows parents to accept, at least on the surface, their daughters' transgressions: the softening of community surveillance. Not living in a tightly bound, segregated Yemeni Jewish community, provides enormous scope for manoeuvre. Children's transgressions are often dealt with inside of the household, sometimes meaning that they are not dealt with at all. The critical eye of others is not so readily apparent, certainly not like in the introspective Jewish villages of Yemen. "Gossip" does abound—it is the stuff that lies at the centre of women's conversations—but people carefully choose what to relate. The relaxing of community surveillance even allows *mothers* to "get away with" breaches of religious imperatives: for example, on the Sabbath Eve, after sundown, when their husbands are away at the synagogue, women often watch the Arabic language romance movies of which they are fond. They do this even though it breaks a Sabbath injunction (because it requires using electricity) and a woman has a younger child stand watch for the father who will shortly return from the synagogue. When he comes into sight, the television is turned off, and the husband never knows (or turns a blind eye himself) that his wife has, in fact, profaned the Sabbath. In the privacy of one's nuclear family and nuclear home, a lot of breeches of proper conduct may occur with impunity.

Notes

1. H. Cohen (1973:152) says of Jews in Yemen: "The parents were interested in bringing their children speedily to the stage where they would leave childhood behind, and the child for his part tried to resemble a grown-up by learning to sit quietly, without moving. . . . The kind of education that the Jewish child received, added to the influence of Muslim suppression, undoubtedly had an

effect on the formation of his character, and he generally grew up an obedient individual."

2. See Chapter 4, note 20; Ballard 1978; Ballard and Ballard 1977; Bhachu 1986; Brah 1979; and Wilson 1978:106–120; and on the children of West Indians in Britain, see Sharpe 1976:240–249.

3. An interesting idea to consider is that the ideology of Derekh Erets belongs to the practice of parenthood. Parental expectations that children should take into account others' opinions and not act on their own is common cross-culturally, but by no means universal. For example, since parents sacrifice for their children, parents in working class Turin expect reciprocal self-denial (Pearlin 1974:45).

4. In general, cultures experiencing significant social changes due to the penetration of capital and the consequent increases in material consumption, also face serious difficulties with their youth. Turinese parents, for example, see their children being influenced by strange and new values which belong to materialism, contributing to their children's "moral erosion" and movement away from proper conceptions of right and wrong (Pearlin: 37–39).

5. Even though not using the terms "proper conduct" and "self-interest" to judge children's behaviour, it seems that this distinction is a feature common to many immigrant situations, particularly when children are educated entirely in the host society. Indian and Pakistani families in a Western Canadian city look at dating and romantic love with horror, attributing children's desire for these to the "corrupting influences" of "Western culture" and the media. All evils—youthful rebellion, pre-marital sex, weak family ties, common-law marriages, and lack of respect for the elders—are related to this (Wakil *et al.* 1981:939). Arab Americans often say that their children are "lost to America" (Elkholy 1976:171). Even in rigidly controlled immigrant communities (those set off by a combination of racial and cultural-religious features seem to be more able to control their offspring because the host society excludes them), where children do accept many family values, such children will nevertheless ask for explicit rationales as they have been taught to in school. South Asian parents do not like this: while they may be sympathetic to children's aspirations, they fear the gossip and critical comment of their ethnic community (Ballard 1979:110–116).

6. Turinese parents also express ambivalence. While they lament the negative effects of materialism on their children, they believe it is important that children should have more opportunities to compete with the bourgeoisie. But this does not mean that children should be "independent" from the family unit, on the contrary, parents want a great deal of control so that they can protect family honour and their daughters' chastity (Pearlin:29–48). Like with the Yemenis, it is difficult to achieve a sense of balance between conflicting expectations, those of the family, and the parents' and children's conflicting interpretations of the wider society.

7. See Gilad 1982, Chapter 8 for a complete composition on this point. Data from Israel shows close ties between the generations (Katz and Gurevitch 1976:34).

8. I did hear this term used more often among younger married women (aged 20–34) who were themselves religious, but never among young women (married or unmarried) who were not religious.

9. I always found myself in an ethical dilemma when mothers asked me for my opinion of their daughters' behaviour, particularly on housework. I honestly said that I was not very helpful in my own mother's house, without saying why. However, I know from my own experience that refusing to do chores is a form of rebellion to parental rules, and that young daughters often do not like to take orders when they are beginning to express themselves as individuals. Moreover, arguments with one's mother over housework might not really have much to do with the mother, but with the daughter's own troubles within herself and with her world; a mother is an easy target on which a daughter can take out her frustrations, often with impunity. Yet I felt it would have been culturally inappropriate to psychologize in this manner with these mothers; I simply agreed that their daughters were self-interested.

10. Of the five women who are religious, all enjoy warm and amiable relationships with their mothers; four of these attended religious secondary schools.

11. Michel did both. She eventually completed law school in 1986.

12. It was often my feeling that parents were not so upset that their children were breaking Sabbath or parental rules, but because they knew that the freedom to drive meant the freedom to spend the Sabbath elsewhere rather than at home.

13. An explanation of the formation of categories in this table is in order. As I said at the beginning of Chapter 6, I did not formally interview the unmarried women. However, I did ask each one about the extent of their religious observances. The evaluation of relationships with their mothers as "good," "acceptable" or "poor" was based on a combination of numerous discussions with mothers and daughters about their relationships and my observations. This table was formed about a year after I left the field, so it necessarily reflects my retrospective evaluations. I considered factors such as frequency, type and significance of conflict; the extent to which daughters helped with housework and childcare; whether or not mother and daughter socialized and shopped together; the terms of affection (or lack thereof) that they used to refer to each other; and their friends' opinions of their relationships.

14. Direct statements include "guard your honour" or "keep away from the boys," phrases also used by some working class mothers in England who say that they will tell their daughters about sex, but these phrases provide the content of the instruction (Kerr 1958:73). In a previous note (Chapter 5, note 13), I drew attention to the cross-cultural commonality of mothers and daughters not discussing, on the whole, sex and menstruation. This is not a phenomenon which belongs solely to "traditional" cultures, as Walters and Walters (1980:814–815) point out: mothers in America generally do not discuss sex with their daughters. Whether the reasons are "shyness" (Kerr:73), the belief that discussion could invite experimentation (for example, believed by Yemeni Jews and Cubans in America, Boone 1980:256), the belief that husbands should provide instruction (Boone 1980), or underlying discomfort of a psycho-sexual sort which is rarely brought out into the open, the taboo on "intimate" conversation about sex seems to be a little researched topic. Caplan (1981) presents some cogent psychological interpretations of mother-daughter taboos on sexual discussion and

physical affection; and she relates these, in part, to unconscious fears of homosexual behaviour. I would hesitate, however, to relate her analysis to the data that I collected in Gadot because this was a realm which one could not easily pry into (outside of the psychologist's office, that is).

15. In secular Israel where sexual purity is not an important value and where young people are expected to meet and pursue one another (Antonovsky 1980; Peres *et al.* 1980:476). it is not surprising that the Israeli-born generation feels this way. However, this is not necessarily a common complaint among children of immigrants elsewhere in the West. For example, it seems that Asian (Indian and Pakistani) children, whether they are in Canada or England, do not view their parents' or community's expectations about arranged marriage—family honour and pre-marital chastity required for both—as primitive, although serious breaches of conduct may occur (but these seem to re-enforce the necessity to abide by parents' wishes) (Saifullah-Khan 1979; Wakil *et al.* 1981; and Wilson 1978:103–120). Once again the factors which encourage children to follow the wishes of their parents seem to be related to their own cultural community's ways of maintaining their integrity of identity (on East African Sikhs in England, see Bhachu 1985:99), of maintaining the economic subjugation of women, of maintaining links with the "old country," and not least, of the host society's attempts to maintain firm boundaries based on race, culture, and class. West Indian black girls, by contrast, often do question their parents' competence to direct their sexuality, yet, they too are excluded from "British society" by race and class. They seem to be more able to question their parents and to question the strongly held value of pre-marital chastity. This may be because the match between values and practice was not consistently maintained in the West Indies (partly resulting from colonialist impingement on family norms, and because unwed mothers often do find acceptance in their families [Sharpe:240–249]).

16. In a discussion with sociologist Lea Handelman, she claimed that most secular Ashkenazi parents do not discuss sexual matters freely with their children or permit intercourse among unmarried partners in the house. By contrast, Antonovsky's (1980:94) research indicates that there is some discussion of these issues: "Those older boys and older modern (Ashkenazi) girls who discuss their concerns and problems with their parents report higher rates of intercourse than those who talk with their parents less frequently. The responses of the older girls from traditional families support the prediction that more communication is related to lower rates of coitus."

17. A methodological note is in order here: It is possible that in response to the question of whether or not non-virgins are moral, women might have thought that I was not a virgin and thus were not willing to insult me by saying that non-virgins are immoral. The women who knew me well did not hesitate to tell me if they thought that non-virgins were immoral, nor did they suspect me of improper conduct as women whom I interviewed on meeting them for the first time might well have done.

18. See Palgi 1975.

19. It is beyond the scope of this book to discuss fathers and sons. Very briefly, sons are considerably better educated than their fathers, and work in

more skilled occupations. Relationships of avoidance and respect are generally typical of father-son relationships, although a minority of sons do not respect their fathers at all and have, accordingly, moved out of the parental house. Unmarried sons who live in the parental home do not hand their incomes over to their fathers as in Yemen, but make token financial contributions towards paying bills. It is understood that a son must save money to set up his own household, so the father stays silent on this issue.

20. While some mothers of the immigrant generation still believe it is more important to give birth to boys than to girls, this is no longer the case for the Israeli-born. Young mothers want a son to carry on the family name, but girls are equally welcome. In Kouvetaris' (1976:178) study of Greek American families, he found that the preference for boys over girls in America changes because: (1) no dowry is given upon marriage (girls are no longer an economic liability); (2) girls incorporated Greek ideals and norms more readily than boys; (3) girls are more attached to their parents; and (4) daughters, not sons, look after elderly parents. In Israel, young mothers see themselves as devoted to their elderly parents as well, but yet another reason to welcome girls as much as boys may concern fears about their sons' military careers: sons face combat and are, therefore, much more likely to be killed than daughters.

21. For other reasons for maternal preferences for male children see *inter alia* Ammar (1954:95–96); DuBoulay (1974:106); Granqvist (1950); and Mynttie (1978:226).

22. The fact that these Israeli-born men are no longer strictly observant is atypical among Yemenis. In homogeneous settlements they are much more likely to be religious; Lewis (1980:16–17) reports that with the exception of army-age boys, all Israeli-born men continue to be religious in the development town where he worked outside of Haifa. There Yemenis maintain a culturally homogeneous ethnic community, unlike the culturally diverse, secular environment which characterizes Gadot.

23. In only two families did I observe sons who were disrespectful to their mothers.

24. Twenty-seven of thirty-five women lived in such homes rather than in apartment flats, admittedly a rather high number. It does indicate, however, that Yemenis preferred to live in what began as two-room semi-detached homes rather than apartments so that rooms could be built on as needed, like in Yemen. Most homes have been enlarged to four or five rooms.

25. The fear of who will care for aged parents may be especially prevalent in situations of social change, particularly when married children set up their own households upon their marriage and may live far away from parents. Pearlin (35–36) writes that economic insecurity encourages Italian parents to nurture family solidarity, so that children will look after their aged parents: "Old age is anticipated with some anxiety because of its economic uncertainties and adult children are expected to maintain an obligation for the care of their parents. This obligation isn't solely moral; it can assume the nature of a calculated exchange." However, we must beware of idealizing the situation of the elderly in preindustrial societies, as Foner's (1984:194–201) critique of modernization

theory points out, stressing that it is too easy to take a "before and after" approach to problems such as these.

26. The viewpoint of the daughter-in-law is often opposite to that held to obtain in such stories. Several young married women said that their husbands want nothing to do with their "primitive" parents or they no longer wished to expose their children to the conservative atmosphere in their parents' home. These women claimed that they try in vain to encourage their husbands to develop better relationships with their parents.

27. I did not learn enough about menopause in the field. Perhaps because of my own youth, it was a subject to which I simply was not sensitive. Also I realized only late in field work that the issue of care in old age is an important concern to many women. I cannot explain why; old age did not appear in my subject index until I had been in the field for ten months. See Datan *et al.* 1981 for an informative study of women in middle-age in five Israeli ethnic groups, and Brown and Kerns 1985 for cross-cultural studies on this topic.

28. While I found that in families where the father had achieved a position of prestige, there was harmony in the family, this was not the case if the mother had achieved a position of prestige in the community. The wide majority of mothers in the immigrant generation are well-respected and well-liked; their efforts of working outside the home and attending adult education courses are widely appreciated in Yemeni women's circles. Most of them, however, have difficulties with their adolescent and older unmarried daughters.

29. Cf. Harris (1969:182) on the age-related aspect of the family authority system.

30. Brothers are no longer guardians of their sisters' honour. It might be that if brothers were still to receive mohar upon the marriage of their sisters, which means that virginity would still be a critical agent in the mohar transaction, brothers might be more energetic about overseeing their sisters' activity. The generation born in Israel does not discuss mohar, except on the odd occasion when they refer to their grandmothers "being bought" in Yemen upon their marriages.

31. I am in no way suggesting that *religious* Ashkenazi parents have worse relationships with their children than the secular. If their children are also religious, presumably they share good relationships like the religious Yemeni mothers and daughters in this study. I am merely making a comment about the importance of the commenserability of values: since most Israeli-born Yemeni children in Gadot do not grasp their parents' religious precepts of way of life, inevitably there are conflicts.

32. See R. and R. Rapoport and Strelitz 1977 on the difficulties and attributes of parenting in industrial societies.

33. To what extent children's experiences in day-care centres affect the long-term parent-child relationship is a scarcely researched subject, but it may in fact have some influence.

34. Harris (1969:180) has found: "Where most social roles are allocated on the basis of kinship, there will be no sharp transition to be made when the child's sphere of interaction extends beyond the nuclear family. Where, however,

this is not the case the child will be confronted with sources of authority which rival the authority of the family itself. The more plural the society and the more individuated the family, the great chance of the values transmitted by that authority being inconsistent with those of the family. . . ."

35. In Elkholy's (1976) study of Arab American youth and their parents, he cites Warner: ". . . the child, not the parent, becomes the transmitting agent of social change."

36. Here, I am referring to the attitudes of parents who have non-religious children only, although even the religious ones think their children should have more regard for *Yemeni* ways during their infrequent arguments. Of course parents do not feel this way all the time, particularly on those occasions when their unmarried children attend the synagogue (on holidays particularly) or hinnot. Lewis (1980) writes of the flowering of Yemeni ethnicity in Israel, claiming that the young have gone back to their roots, particularly in respect to music, dance, and food, but also that they generally share the values of their parents. He writes of this as a country-wide phenomenon, but the people that he studied lived in a relatively homogeneous ethnic enclave. Gadot's Yemeni population is at the opposite extreme. In the next chapter, I will return to Lewis' contentions about the strengthening of Yemeni ethnicity, but I will maintain, more strongly than he, that it is a State supported movement more so than a grassroots one.

has announced that he intends to convert to Judaism. Dorit's older sister, Devorah, married a non-Yemeni Israeli Jew in 1985, after years of explorations and enjoying the "good life." Devorah gave birth to her first child in 1986 and continues to work in the local bank. As I mentioned briefly above in the discussion of norms, Devorah now shares a very good relationship with her mother, after eleven years of constant conflicts while she was a ravaka. Dorit and Devorah's oldest brother has also been married for several years, and their second to youngest brother has a serious girlfriend; the youngest boy is now in the army. For a period of twelve years their mother, Zohara, suffered through the trauma of having four adult unmarried children. For Zohara, life is now incomparably easier and more enjoyable than during those tumultuous times.

These five women all carry a Yemeni consciousness, but they will not sustain a Yemeni Jewish community. There will surely be many others like them in the next generations.

Notes

1. There is a rich literature on Israeli immigrant communities which, in some respects, also illustrate some of the points made in *Ginger and Salt.* However, the majority of these studies have been conducted by men and are about men, or, in the attitudinal surveys, have not considered gender as a unit of analysis. Nor has their concern been specifically with the family, but rather with the micro-politics of nation-building, cultural adaptations to moshav or development town life, and the religious and symbolic life of (male) immigrants (see bibliography for sources). Studies which are directly relevant to Yemeni Jewish women, particularly those by Phyllis Palgi and Yael Katzir, have been referred to. Unfortunately I did not have available to me Shalva Weil's Ph.D. thesis on the Indian Jewish family in Lod. There are studies in Hebrew of which I may be unaware, but the findings of one study which will be published in Hebrew and should be particularly relevant was conducted by Rachel Rosen of the Hebrew University on Moroccan moshav women, particularly on their notions of purity and danger, and honour and shame. Also, Rachel Kimor's M.A. thesis (in Hebrew) on the elaborate use of menstrual taboos in the maintenance of Samaritan ethnic identity is relevant.

2. Brettell and Simon 1986:6.

3. It might be worth recalling that the pre-state Yishuv, Jewish settlement in Palestine, actively assisted both outside Palestine and on its beaches, in the clandestine migration of Jews to Israel. British immigration policy towards Jews heavily restricted their entry, thus forcing many Jews back to Europe, eventually to die in the death camps. With this background in mind, it is easier to understand the immediate enactment of the Law of Return after the declaration of statehood.

4. Bernstein and Swirski (1982) have aptly criticized the Eisenstadt school of sociology (as exemplified in the *Absorption of Immigrants* [1953]) for viewing the pre-state Ashkenazi establishment as a "receiving society" like that of Britain

or America, where the immigrants have to do all the adapting, not the host society. She points out that during the early years of statehood, Israel itself was a new society, in the process of modernizing. It was not a fully developed state in any sense of the word, but rather a developing state. Therefore the tremendous number of immigrants (from Asia and Africa) had the potential to transform (and indeed have done so in important respects) the host society.

5. Of course, one could conceivably argue that as a capitalist country Israel does not need a migrant work force because since 1967, it has had a ready supply of cheap labour from the West Bank and Gaza. Moreover, if peace comes to the region, it may one day get a real migrant work force from other Arab countries. I remember well when on a visit to Egypt in 1981, an Egyptian man told me that he was pleased about the peace with Israel because he heard that he could earn a good wage in Tel Aviv and therefore send remittances home. He was considering a temporary migration. One should also note that there is a temporary labour force on the kibbutz where Jewish and non-Jewish young adults volunteer their labour in exchange for room, board, minimal pocket money, and, not least, the kibbutz experience.

6. For example, Canada admits most women into the country as the dependents of men, whether they are or not. This restricted their access to language courses which until 1985 were subsidized only for the household head, invariably designated as a man, unless the family itself could pay for the lessons. Furthermore, when brought in as dependents on the husband's entry permit, if he is deported, the wife is also subject to deportation (Boyd 1986:47).

7. This is not to say that there is agreement on "Who is a Jew," a controversy which has besieged the state since its inception, particularly since the authorities who decide who is a Jew—the Rabbinate and the secular Supreme Court—frequently do not agree on this matter.

8. Shortly after writing this, I came across a book review by Nissim Rejwan (1986) in the *Jerusalem Post,* which began with: "The grave nature of the cleavage between religious and secular Jews in Israeli society is acknowledged now even by the optimistic. Earlier this year, Professor Asher Arian, a prominent Tel Aviv University political scientist, warned that the inability to find a conciliatory formula for their co-existence 'presents a greater danger to Israeli democracy.' He added that, while the ethnic division, acute as it may be, 'is likely to resolve itself in the long run or to re-emerge in the more familiar guise of social class conflict, the religious cleavage, in contrast, is likely to persist.'"

9. Some people were left behind or stayed behind by choice, but this differs from country to country. While there are several thousand Jews in North Yemen, in Alexandria, Egypt, Jews can no longer form a minyan for a congregation because there are not even ten adult men in the Jewish community. Many of the Egyptian Jews, however, emigrated to France and Canada.

10. Morokvasic 1983:28.

11. See Morokvasic 28.

12. H. Lewis 1982:19

13. I agree with Loeb (1985:213) and A. Lewis (1985:151) that the term "Oriental" or Eidot HaMizrah has little explanatory value. I also recognize the

original use of the term Oriental as an ethnocentric one designed by early Ashkenazi settlers to refer to the indigenous Jewish population in Palestine (A. Lewis:143). As A. Lewis claims, "Oriental" is a phantom of Israeli (principally Ashkenazi) explanations for Jewish inequalities in Israel. If possible, one should refer to specific countries-of-origin.

In this discussion I use the term Mizrahi to refer to Jews from the Asian and African continents in comparison with that other major and probably more culturally meaningful, category, Ashkenazi. Throughout ***Ginger and Salt,*** I have generally used the terms Ashkenazi and Mizrahi (or Eidot HaMizrah) only in the contexts which Yemenis in Gadot do. This present discussion is more general, however, and I use these terms in the lack of another general term to refer to immigrants from the Asian-African continents as a ***conceptual*** set of people.

14. Similar criticisms have been levied at "multicultural" policies in other countries. In Canada, for example, multiculturalism, with its stress on "heritage" languages (for example, Chinese, Italian, and Polish) and material culture does not deal with incipient racism among the invisible majority population. In Britain, multicultural programmes on the BBC, such as "Asian Magazine" or "Ebony," speak to ethnic constituents, giving their social and cultural interests some time on the tube. However, these programmes are not usually watched by the white British public, and I have heard comments that they are too soft in their commentaries on the British (white) population's racial attitudes. It is as if Enoch Powell's speech on prohibiting further immigration haunts the cultural "Others" of British society, lending to a deep down fear that one day they may be deported if they speak out (Lloyd-Jones 1981).

15. Lewis 1982.

16. Cf. Loeb (1985) who analyzed the imagery of the past among Jews from Habban, an isolated desert town in South Yemen.

17. Gold and Paine 1985.

18. Amongst them are Gans 1962; and Glazer and Moynihan 1965.

19. See Dunziger's (1983) study of immigrants in Newfoundland in which she illustrates how visits to the country-of-origin reinforce the decision to migrate.

20. Lewis 1982.

21. Bhachu 1985:74.

22. I will refer in this discussion only to Katzir's (1976) study and Lewis' (1985), since Palgi's work with Yemenis is not based on a community study and Cohen's (1961) is dated, although it is a critical contribution to the ethnographic record on Yemenis in Israel.

23. This finding lends support to the general criticisms of migration studies which do not use gender as a unit of analysis. I am in strong disagreement with Leeds (1976) who believes gender is not a proper focus in the study of migration.

24. Lewis 1985:227.

25. Katzir:253.

26. Lewis 1982, 1985.

27. Lewis 1985:225.

28. Particularly relevant here, see: Gannage 1986; Morokovasic 1984; Pessar 1984; Safa 1984; and Wilson 1978; and the edited volumes of Gilad and Meintel 1985; Phizacklea 1983; Seller 1981; and Simon and Brettell 1985.

29. The social effects that immigrant people have on the societies they join is a sparsely researched subject; yet here it is clear that applied research is sorely needed in many countries, especially in places like the urban neighbourhoods of Britain where racial conflicts show evidence of white British difficulties in their own "absorption" of immigrants.

30. The social and economic implications of the joint family household and the extended family have been particularly well-documented for Asian groups in Britain where the maintenance of the joint household is usually viewed either as an exploitative institution of women, or as their haven in British society, depending on the perspective of the author. Among British-born Asians, however, the nuclear family household is becoming increasingly the norm, although extensive contact with kin is maintained. Even in the tightly controlled ethnic neighbourhood communities among South Asians, there is a "way out" provided by the more "liberal" (that is, individual comes first) norms of British society, as is clearly shown in Shan's (1985) gripping autobiography, a story about her attempts to free herself from the grips of her husband and her obligations towards her extended family.

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